THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTISM OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY :

CHARLES III IN SPAIN.

THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

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BY

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CHAPTER I .

PREPARATION FOR GOVERNMENT.

The influence of Elizabeth Farnese on the career of her son Charles can easily be traced through all the period of his Italian rule. Her warlike spirit impressed itself on her son's character and this accounts for his somewhat inconsistent attitude in later years when, as King of Spain, he turned aside from the path of reform and plunged into disastrous wars against the greatest sea power of his time, only to gratify a desire for military glory or to uphold a family tradition. His Italian dominions were won by the sword and had therefore to be defended ; but Spain's salvation lay in peace and the regeneration of its people, who had been ruined by wars and conquest.

Charles of Bourbon, as he was known in his Italian dominions, was born in the year 1716, being the first-born of Philip's second marriage with Elizabeth Farnese. His mother, who was intensely ambitious for her own sons, intrigued and plotted to obtain for them independent kingdoms. She succeeded in obtaining for Charles the ducal crowns of Tuscany and Parma and when the War of the Polish Succession began in 1733, Elizabeth seized this pretext to invade Austrian dominions and to obtain Naples for her elder son. Charles

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was placed at the head of the combined Spanish and Italian army, though under the direction of the Count de Montemar.

In this contest for the crowns of Naples and Sicily, the imperial troops were generally worsted and on June 15th of the year 1734 the Infant Charles published the decree of Philip V, whereby the latter ceded his "ancient and newly recovered rights to the Sicilies, united into one independent kingdom, to his son Charles, born of his happy nuptials with Elizabeth Farnese."[1] The new king caused himself to be proclaimed, Charles, by the grace of God, King of the Two Sicilies and Jerusalem, Infant of Spain, Duke of Parma, Piacenza and Castro, and heredetary Grand Prince of Tuscany. He also issued an edict, summoning all the barons of the kingdom to swear allegiance to the government, within a given time, threatening defaulters with punishment . But the two kingdoms for which Charles had been striving had not yet been won, though the victory of Bitorito by Montemar, on May 26, 1734, had caused the Austrians to abandon all hope of regaining Naples. Various fortresses surrendered to the Spaniards and by the battle of Parma in Italy was almost totally destroyed so that Charles could now turn his attention to Sicily.. For its conquest Charles sent over a Spanish army of fourteen thousand men under the command of the Duke de Montemar. The Spaniards were well received by the Sicilian peoples and after hearing

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1. Colletta, Vol. I, p. 43.

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In this contest for the crowns of Naples and Sicily, the imperial troops were generally victorious and on June 10th of the year 1714 the Infant Charles published the decree of Philip V, whereby the latter ceded his "ancient and usual, unconvened rights to the Sicilies, united into one independent kingdom, to his son Charles, born of his happy nuptials with Elizabeth Farnese." [1] The new King caused himself to be proclaimed, Charles, by the grace of God, King of the Two Sicilies and Jerusalem, Infant of Spain, Duke of Parma, Piacenza and Castro, and Hereditary Grand Prince of Tuscany. He also issued an edict, announcing all the barons of the kingdom to swear allegiance to the government, viz:in a given time, threatening defaulters with punishment. But the two strongholds for which Charles had been striving had not yet been won, though the victory of Pitorito by Montemar, on May 26, 1734, had caused the Austrians to abandon all hope of regaining Naples. Various fortresses surrendered to the Spaniards and by the battle of Parma in Italy the Austrians totally destroyed so that Charles could now turn his attention to Sicily. For its conquest Charles sent over a Spanish army of fourteen thousand men under the command of the Duke de Montemar. The Spaniards were well received by the Sicilian people and after marching

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1. Collette, Vol. I, p. 45.

the news of the Empire's losses in Naples, Lombardy and Germany, they submitted to an inevitable fate, and the dominion of Charles was immediately universally established.[1] Charles was officially crowned at Palermo on June 3, 1735, and accompanied with all the ceremonies and grandeur of former coronations, he received the homage and oath of fealty from the people. The feasting and distributing of presents was more lavish than it had ever been before and it was thus that Charles of Bourbon, even at the beginning of his reign, endeared himself to his Neapolitan subjects.

The conditions of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies at the time of Charles' accession is best described in the words of the Italian author, Colletta. He says : "At the time of the arrival of King Charles of Bourbon, the Apostolic See claimed supremacy over kings and kingdoms, as arrogantly as in the times of Gregory VII, but as its moral influence had diminished, this was only supported by the number of ecclesiastics and by their inordinate wealth. The temporal power of the Church was as strong as ever ; religious faith as great or greater than formerly, but faith in the ministers of religion and the pontiff weakened ; the feudal system entire, but the feudal system contemptible in the eyes of the people ; there was no army and the civil administration was fraudulent and full of errors ; the finances were exhausted, poor at the present moment, and

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with the prospect of becoming still poorer ; the codes of law were confused, and the tribunals filled with a vast assemblage of intriguing and corrupt lawyers ; though the Neapolitans were slaves to many prejudices, they were opposed to the fallen government and desirous of better. Therefore, necessity, the opinions and desires of the people, a new dynasty, and the interests of the new king, as well as the genius of the age, all invited reforms."[1]

The above summary furnishes an excellent idea of the conditions existing at the commencement of Charles' Italian reign and will help to give the reader a just appreciation of the great difficulties he and his ministers overcame in their efforts to inaugurate needed reforms.

Charles' first act of sovereign power was the appointment of Tanucci as Minister of Justice and it was said that this wise choice was made because on one occasion, when a Spanish soldier had committed a crime and had sought refuge in a church, Tanucci, who was then a professor at Pisa, supported the royal authority against the claims of the Tuscan clergy.[2]

Tanucci, who had had an excellent legal training, was the man best fitted for the undertaking of instituting reforms in the newly acquired kingdom. The chief disorders of the State were due to the defects in the codes and tribu-

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1. Colletta, Vol. I, p. 28.
2. Beccatini, Vol. II, p. 1751.

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1. Colletta, Vol. I, p. 90.
2. Scognamiglio, Vol. II, p. 1051.

nals, but owing to the system of absolutism by which laws were made in forms of decrees and pragmatics, instead of drawing up a regular Code no regular system was adopted.[1] Colletta says : "The civil jurisprudence underwent no change. Alterations were made in the criminal laws, but dictated for special occasions, and in a spirit of indignation aroused by the frequency or barbarity of crimes. A due proportion between the act and the punishment was not preserved, so that an equitable and judicious scale of punishment was wanting. Trials for civil causes were slightly improved, but the discussion was always confused, and it was necessary for the solution of doubtful points to refer to the authority of the Sovereign ; while all the arbitrary acts of the Viceregal Government, the appointments of Ministri Aggiunti and rimedii legalii were continued. The supreme Council of State was abolished, while the other tribunals remained as before, because the king had promised that they shouls not be changed. The system of trial for criminal offences was in no way improved, while the Inquisitorial system, the Scivani, torture, paid proofs, arbitrary sentences and the interference of the prince still continued."[2] These facts as given by the Italian author seem quite accurate for even as great a worshipper of Charles III as Danvila[3] can only say this much for Charles' reforms in legislation : "The penal system was about the same

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1. Colletta, Vol. I, p. 52.
2. Ibid, Vol. I, 52.
3. D. y C., Vol. I, p. 147.

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1. Collatio, Vol. I, p. 55.
2. Ibid, Vol. I, 55.
3. D. . Vol. I. . 127.

as it was in the rest of Europe. Torture, although not proscribed by the law of 1731, was not amplified and when it was abolished in 1789 it existed in the whole of Europe with the exception of England. The judicial dual disappeared before it did in France, and the judiciary colleges, and the Supreme Tribunal of revision were founded in Naples." The mitigation of the laws in Naples was undoubtedly retarded by the criminal tendencies of the people ; for it had been found necessary because of the frequency of murders with the aid of poisons, to establish a Junta of Poisons to try such cases.

The reforms instituted for the development of trade and industries were of the most enlightened and beneficial nature. Charles made peace with the Ottoman Empire by means of which his commerce was free from the attacks of the Barbary pirates ; he concluded treaties of commerce and navigation with Sweden, Denmark and Holland, while renewing the old ones with France, England and Spain. He appointed consuls, wherever he thought that there might be openings for trade and drew up a code for their jurisdiction. He also appointed a commercial tribunal which decided all questions of commerce. A sanitary commission and bankruptcy regulations were other fruits of Charles' desire for the welfare of his people. Colletta, says : "Had those legislative enactments, which now exist in a variety of instructions and pragmatic sanctions, been methodically registered in one book, we should have a full and complete commercial code, and might have boasted of having been

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half a century in advance of the other states of Europe."[1] A naval college was built and a body of pilots was formed. With the same desire to increase commerce, Charles allowed the Jews, who had been banished by Charles V, to reenter his kingdom and gave them all the privileges of citizenship. In consequence of these regulations, the commerce grew and foreign ships crowded the Neapolitan ports, though the mercantile system of economy, with all its fallacies, having been adopted by Charles, the good effect of some of his measures was counteracted by the stringent rules adopted to prevent the exportation of money.

Charles married Amalia Dalburga, daughter of Frederick Augustus of Poland, in the year 1738 and in commemoration of the event he founded the order of San Januarius, which was said to have had statutes more worthy of a congregation of monks than an order of knighthood.

In spite of the religious nature of Charles, however, he did not allow any prejudices to interfere with the reforms of ecclesiastical matters in his kingdom. The quarrel with the papacy which began during the war against Austria was eagerly pressed. By promises and threats Charles persuaded Clement to read the Bull of Investiture by which he proclaimed the king as Charles VII, a name which was never adopted. In 1739 Charles proposed a concordat to the Pope ; but Clement died shortly afterwards, leaving this new demand to the care

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1. Colletta, Vol. I, p. 63.

of his successor, Benedict XIV. The new concordat was finally granted in 1741 and gave to Charles the right to subject the ancient possessions of the Church to a tax of one half the amount paid by the laity, and all later acquisitions were to pay the whole. The census of the state was to separate the lay property, which had either been intentionally or by mistake confounded with the patrimony of the clergy. The number of the franchises was reduced and the permanent exemption, granted to privileged persons, revoked. The right of asylum was limited to the churches, and even then only in the case of slight and trivial offences. The ecclesiastical state having been defined, and personal immunities reduced, the right of episcopal jurisdiction was circumscribed, the secular jurisdiction proportionably extended, and in order to limit the number of priests, the difficulties of ordination and the discipline of the clergy were increased. A tribunal was formed called the Misto, because composed of both ecclesiastical and lay judges, to decide those disputes arising from the Concordat. With the Concordat as a basis, Charles checked and, in some instances, destroyed the preponderant influence of the clergy and, in order to ascertain the taxable property belonging to the clergy, he took a census which, though deficient because of fraud, was a step toward equity in the levying of taxes.

Elizabeth Farnese, desiring to obtain a kingdom or sovereignty for her second son, Don Philip, encouraged her

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husband, Philip V, to assert his claims to the throne of Tuscany and when the Emperor, Charles VI, died in 1740 , the Spanish rulers thought that their opportunities had come and invaded Italy with a large army. Charles of Bourbon sent a Neapolitan army of twelve thousand men to aid the Spaniards, but upon the threat of the English Commodore Martin to bombard Naples unless they remained neutral he withdrew his troops. After the Spaniards had been thus weakened, the Austrians attempted to reconquer Naples, but after many minor skirmishes the Austrian army under Lobkowitz was defeated by the combined army of Spaniards and Neapolitans and Charles was again able to turn his attention to the arts of peace and to the reforms which the war had interrupted.

Various monuments and public works were completed during this period, the most noted of which were the Mole, the Strada Marinella and the Strada Merzzellian. He also planned to build a magnificent villa near the city of Copo-di-Monte, but gave up the undertaking because of the subterranean grottoes over which it was to be built. A magnificen theater designed by Medrano was another one of Charles' undertakings and was said to have been the most beautiful in Europe at that time. Charles also ordered the construction of several roads and bridges, notably the one across the Volturna near Venafro. The regii studii was built for the poor of both sexes and served as a place of refuge for thousands of destitute individuals. He built a magnificant castle near the city of

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The Reggi Studii was built for the poor of both sexes and served as a place of refuge for thousands of destitute individuals. He built a magnificent castle near the city of

Caserta and placed there an equestrian statue of himself. To water the gardens around this palace Charles built an aqueduct twenty-seven miles long, crossing the mountains of Tifative and the three wide valleys, and flowing in canals cut in the rocks or carried over high and massive bridges. Colletta says : "If the inscriptions on the stones and the memory of war did not tell a different tale, this work, from its gradd-eur and bold conception, might be attributed to the Roman period."[1]

The most renowned of Charles of Bourbon's achievements were the excavations which he began at Pompeii and Herculaneum. An academy was founded for the antiquities found in the buried cities. The colleges and universities were reformed in several respects, though the ecclesiastical seminaries were left under the control of the clergy. Though Charles tried hard to promote learning and the arts in his kingdom, the opposition of the clergy prevented his reforms from being general. The fondness which Charles had for the chase led him to enact laws against poaching which were too severe ; he instituted lotteries and lisenced gaming, though he abolished it later. He proscribed the society of free masons at the instigation of France and drove out the Jews though he had invited them into his kingdom seven years earlier. (This last step was due to the enmity which the people

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1. Colletta, Vol. I, p. 86.

deserts and placed there an expedition around himself. To water the gardens around this palace Charles built an aqueduct twenty-seven miles long, crossing the mountains of Ilfestive and the three wide valleys, and flowing in canals cut in the rocks or carried over high and massive bridges. Collette says : "If the inscriptions on the stones and the memory of war did not tell a different tale, this work, from its grandeur and bold conception, might be attributed to the Roman period."[1]

The most renowned of Charles of Fourbon's buildings were the excavations which he began at Tompeii and Herculaneum. An academy was founded for the antiquities found in the buried cities. The colleges and universities were reformed in several respects, though the ecclesiastical seminaries were left under the control of the clergy. Though Charles tried hard to promote learning and the arts in his kingdom, the opposition of the clergy prevented his reforms from being general. The firmness which Charles had for the Crown led him to enact laws against gambling which were too severe ; he instituted lotteries and lazarous gaming, though he abolished it later. He prescribed the toleration of free masons at the instigation of Tanucci and drove out the Jews though he had invited them into his kingdom seven years earlier. This last step was due to the enmity which the people

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1. Collette, Vol. I, p. 50.

displayed against that race, as well as the intrigues of a Jesuit confessor.) ? An abortive attempt to introduce the Inquisition was frustrated by the turbulent opposition of the people and the wisdom of the king.

The war which had begun in 1740, had been waged intermittently until 1748, though the kingdom of Naples was not much affected by its ravages. The final treaty was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle and by it the second son of Elizabeth Farnese, Don Philip, received the duchies of Parma, Piacenza and Guastella, the Spanish Queen Mother having thus gained her end.

Tanucci's reforms of the feudal system were mostly in the way of diminishing the judicial rights without touching the revenue, lands or other rights of the barons. The baronial courts were made subject to appeals and by diminishing the number of armed retainers, and laying down the rules for their punishment, Tanucci diminished the baronial privileges. It was also decreed that the power of criminal jurisdiction was never again to be granted upon renewal of investitures of fiefs and that the rights of the community were inalienable by time. Charles tried to attract the feudal lords to his court and in that way relieve their vassals of their presence. In this way the power of the nobles was gradually weakened because of the extravagance incidental to court life. The third estate, which had until the time of Charles' arrival been oppresse by the clergy and the nobles, grew strong and it was from this

displayed against that race, as well as the intrigues of a Jesuit confessor. An abortive attempt to introduce the Inquisition was frustrated by the turbulent opposition of the people and the wisdom of the king.

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body, mostly composed of merchants and lawyers, that Charles drew his councillors. Of these Tanucci was the most famous, and his influence on the policy of Charles, both while he was in Italy and afterwards in Spain, was constant and powerful at all times. A Spanish author says of this minister : "This man of such exceptional abilities, who presaged the unity of Italy, yearned for since the time of Dante, and announced it a century before it was realized by the count of Cavour, and who understood the two great necessities of his country, which consisted in the destruction of feudalism and the restriction of the centralizing power of the pope, making a foreign rule acceptable and planting the power of Spain on Italian soil, was Bernardo Tanucci, who, as an Italian author[1] truly said, does not represent the biography of a man, but rather the contemporaneous history of Italy and symbolizes the tendency of the eighteenth century."[2]

The correspondence of Tanucci with Charles after he became king of Spain gives an adequate idea of the Tuscan lawyer's influence and ought therefore to be worthy of consideration.

The correspondence carried on between the minister and his master was weekly and the letters were always writtin in Tanucci's own handwriting. The style was precise and short and of laconic eloquence. The councils embodied in his letters

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1. Di B., Tanucci. Duca di Lauria.
2. D. y C., Vol. I, 138.

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The correspondence of Tanucci with Charles after he became King of Spain gives an exquisite idea of the Tuscan lawyer's influence and weight therefore in the matter of consolidation.

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1. Di G., Tanucci. Tome de Jaurnis.
2. D. J. C., Vol. I, 130.

were clear and exhaustive and his form severe and respectful ; and what is most singular is the total absence of any corrections in any of his letters, giving proof of a clear understanding and easy comprehension of what he was writing.[1] There was nothing in Tanucci's letters which did not bear upon some important matter ; nothing which did not come directly to the point, and no thought which did not inspire conviction.[2] Each letter began by giving an account of the state of health enjoyed by the royal family ; then gave an account of all the questions brought up in the council of regency and nearly always ended by giving a summary of the discoveries made in Pompeii and Herculaneum. There was no detail which happened at the Neapolitan court that was not embodied in the letters and Tanucci was often compelled to seek the protection of Charles because of his well known opposition to the Apostolic See and his report of the indiscretions of Ferdinand's life. All the difficult questions which Charles had to decide were submitted to Tanucci and no reforms were ever instituted without first consulting him.

The experience which Charles had had in Italy helped him to avoid many mistakes in Spain, while the reputation he had while ruler of Naples preceded him to Spain, making him beloved by the people even before his arrival there.

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1. D. y C., Vol. I, p. 142.
2. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 142.

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1. D. C., Vol. I, p. 142.
2. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 142.

CHAPTER II.

NARRATIVE OF HIS REIGN.

By the death of Ferdinand VI without issue, the crown of Spain devolved upon his half brother, Charles of Naples. Charles abdicated his Italian throne in favor of his third son, Don Ferdinand, because of Don Philip's imbecility, while Don Charles, the second son, became heir apparent to his father's Spanish dominions.

After making these arrangements for his succession in Italy, Charles embarked for Barcelona, landing there in October, 1759. His reforms in Italy had given him the reputation of being one of the foremost advocates of the ideas of enlightened despotism and his reception at Barcelona was one of intense enthusiasm. The royal party made its triumphal entry into Madrid on the thirteenth of July, 1760 and the attitude of the Spanish people, even at this early date of the reign, indicated the love and admiration which they felt for their sovereign. Charles was in the prime of life when he came to the Spanish throng, being in his forty-fifth year. He was of medium height, robust in constitution ; his skin was tanned by exposure to the wind and weather and his frugal habits were those of a bourgeois of his state. His joviality and good nature attracted every one toward him. In 1760 he

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THE ACTIVITY OF THE KING.

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After certain diplomatic preparations in his succession in Italy, Charles embarked for Barcelona, landing there in October, 1759. His reforms in Italy had given him the reputation of being one of the foremost advocates of the cause of enlightened despotism and his reputation as a reformer was one of intense enthusiasm. The royal party made its triumphal entry into Madrid on the 9-letzten of July, 1760 and the citizens of the Spanish capital, map of this part of the reign, indicated the love and admiration which they felt for their sovereign. Charles was in the prime of life when he came to the Spanish throne, being in his forty-fifth year. He was of medium height, robust in constitution, his face was tanned by exposure to the sun and weather and his regal mien were those of a monarch of his stamp. His activity and good nature endeared every one toward him. In 1760 he

lost his wife, Maria Amalia of Saxony, who had given him thirteen children. Charles refused to marry again and during this long period between his wife's death and the end of his reign he led a truly puritan life. He was firm and tenacious in character, and some of his ministers complained of his stubbornness. He was not over-brilliant, but capable of discerning the good or the evil in a man. He was a very religious man ; but also possessed a broad, liberal spirit. His desire was to free the Spanish people of ecclesiastic influence and to destroy in the administrative, economic and social organization of Spain the dees seated abuses, sacred to the Spaniard because of their long duration.

Charles retained most of his brother's ministers, though he accepted the resignation of Alva, allowing him to retain all his honors and rewards.

Wall, a talented and conscientious Irishman, was made the head of his ministry and, Squilaci, a low born Sicilian, shared the responsibility in the first steps taken towards the much needed reforms. The duke of Losada did not interfere much with foreign politics, but confined himself to administrative duties. This ministry was mainly backed up by the "golilla" party, which was not so strong in numbers as in the high average of intelligence of its members. The celebrated Campomanes and Moruno, who later became chief minister, were the leaders of this party. Grimaldi, a Genoese nobleman of remarkable diplomatic ability, was sent to Paris and there

lost his wife, Maria Amalia of Saxony, who had given him thirteen children. Charles retired to Naples, again and during this long period between his wife's death and the end of his reign he led a truly Spartan life. He was firm and conscious in character, and used of his military experience of his predecessors. He was not over-brilliant, but capable of discerning the good or the evil in a man. He was a very religious man ; but also possessed a broad, liberal spirit. His desire was to free the Spanish people of ecclesiastic influence and tyranny in the an industrial, economic and social organization of Spain the most needed change, amount to the planned measure of this long generation.

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achieved the famous Pacte de Famille. He succeeded Wall in 1763 and marked his policy with a decided leaning toward France. One English envoy described him as being "more French than the French ambassador."

The renewal or affirmation of the Pacte de Famille was apparently aimed against England, though Charles expressly declared it to be an "affaire de coeur, not an affaire politique." It was to be a defensive and offensive alliance between the two Bourbon houses, but it is hard to see how Spain could gain anything by such an agreement with France. Choiseul's joy at having achieved the treaty caused him to publish its contents before Spain was ready for it and Pitt promptly declared war against Spain. Wall, who was the only continental statesman who seems to have had a true conception of England's strength, strenuously opposed any conflict with that nation. France's premature step disgusted him and only the impending crisis of a foreign war induced him to remain in office. Portugal was asked to join the Bourbons as against England, but declared herself neutral. An invasion of allied troops under Aranda followed. England sent ten thousand men under Count Lippe to aid Portugal and these forces and the approaching winter compelled Aranda to retire without having accomplished anything. The English under Admiral Porock captured all of Spain's West India possessions, taking Havana after a desperate siege. Manilla in the Philippines was also taken by the English, but ransomed for four million dollars,

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only two million of which were ever paid. Spain attacked the Portuguese colonies in South America and took Sacramento, but was ready to listen to Lord Bute's overtures of peace at the end of the year 1762. A treaty was made in London in February, 1763, by which England got most of France's Asiatic possessions, also those in America and Africa. Spain returned Minorca, surrendered Florida, gave up logging rights on the coast of Campeachy and fishing rights on the coast of Newfoundland. England gave up Havana and Manilla.

Thus Charles' first war against England ended decidedly in the latter's favor and justified Wall's apprehensions of such an encounter. After the treaty between the three powers had been signed, Wall obtained his release from office by feigning partial blindness. Grimaldi was chosen to succeed him and directed the department of foreign affairs until 1776. Squillaci was his rival for influence with the king and it was he who drew up the reforms for the domestic administration of Spain and devised a means for checking the corruption and dishonesty rampant in the colonies. The appointment of Grimaldi encouraged Choiseul, and perhaps rightfully so, to boast of his powerful influence in Spain for the Italian had been one of his disciples while in Paris.

Squilaci as Minister oftthe Interior began his reforms at home by issuing an edict against the prevalent custom of wearing large slouch hats and long black cloaks in such a manner as to conceal the features of the wearer, thus making

only two million of which were overpaid. France attacked the Portuguese colonies in South America and South Scandinavia, but was ready to listen to Lord Bute's overtures of peace at the end of the year 1762. A treaty was made in London in February, 1763, by which France got most of France's African possessions, also those in America and Africa. Spain returned Minorca, surrendered Florida, gave up fishing rights on the coast of Newfoundland, and fishing rights on the coast of Newfoundland. England gave up Havana and Manilla.

Thus Chatham's first war against Bourbon power became celebrated in the Indian Ocean and justified Hall's aspirations of such an encounter. After the treaty between the three powers had been signed, Hall resigned his salaries from office by reigning Partial blindness. Chandler was chosen to succeed him and directed the department of foreign affairs until 1776. Chandler was his rival for influence with the king and it was he who drew up the reforms for the numerous administration of Spain and devised a means for checking the corruption and dishonesty rampant in the colonies. The appointment of criminal encouraged Chandler, who perhaps rightfully so, to boast of his powerful influence in Spain for the Italian and been one of his disciples while in Paris.

Hallet as Minister office Inspector began his reforms at home by issuing an order against the prevalent custom of wearing large clouds hats and long black cloaks in such a manner as to conceal the features of the wearer, thus making

the detection of armed criminals a difficult task. The clergy was against him because of his well known anti-clerical sentiments and the nobility because of his attempt to reduce the number of large landed estates. This foreigner was made the scapegoat for every evil that had arisen and on March 23, 1766, Madrid broke out in open revolt. Everybody wore the objectionable garb and the populace demanded the death of Squilaci. His house was sacked and he went into hiding. The Walloon Guards bravely defended the royal residence and after three days the rebellion was put down. Aranda had been called upon to restore order and Squilaci was sent to Venice as Spanish ambassador. Aranda had an enormous amount of influence with the Spanish people and had distinguished himself both as a soldier and as a statesman. He had been sent to Portugal and to Italy on martial errands and was a true representative of a proud race. He was made president of Castile and secured the obedience of the people so that Charles consented to return from Aranjuez, whither he had fled, to Madrid. Aranda was as original in character as he was in appearance. He was dark skinned, had a large, hooked nose and steel gray eyes ; a toothless mouth completed his homely but not repulsive appearance. He was a non-believing philosopher and Epicurean in tendency. The king upon one occasion declared that he was more stubborn than an Aragonese mule.

The year after the so-called Squilaci riots, Aranda planned and executed the suppression of the Jesuit order in

the detention of armed criminals in difficult terrain. The injury done against his because of his well known anti-clerical sentiments and the hostility because of his attempt to secure the month of large landed estates. The foreigner was made the scapegoat for every evil that had arisen and on March 27, 1926, Mariz taken out to open revolt. Everybody were the objectionable part and the popular response was very if Spaniol. His house was looted and he went into hiding. The Italian Ozorio firmly defended the royal residence but after three days the rebellion was put down. Amends had been called upon to restore order and Spaniol was sent to Tavira as Spanish ambassador. Among the enthusiastic people of Ilhavo with the Spanish people and the disinterested citizenry both as a soldier and as a statesman. He had been sent to Portugal and to Italy on material errands and was a true representative of a proud race. He was made realizer of Portuguese and secured the obedience of the people to their rightful sovereign to return from Brazilian, without so that time, to Madrid. Arranz was as a-lighted in Portugal as he was in Portuguese. He was dark skinned, had a large, hooked nose and small grey eyes ; a countenance which combined its dignity, but not repulsive appearance. He was a non-smoker. Hilarious and fluent in Portuguese. The King when the decision that he was more akin born than as Portuguese quite.

The year after the so-called Spanish revolt, Arranz planned and assumed the governorship of the Tavira region in

Spain. This movement against the Society began in Portugal and France, but up to the time of the riots, Charles had given no evidence of any enmity against any religious order. It seems that the events of 1766 changed his politics in this respect and his growing suspicion of the followers of Loyola was being skilfully fostered by the school of anti-clerical reformers. No efforts were spared by these to bring on the downfall of this hated order. Evidence of a vast conspiracy against the Bourbon family was produced, or rather manufactured, and the rebellion of the previous year was declared to have been the work of the Jesuits. In spite of the strenuous remonstrance of Clement XIII Charles signed the decree which banished every Jesuit from his lands. Aranda was ready to carry out his knig's wishes and arranged matters so skilfully that the people knew nothing about the expulsion of the Society until it had been accomplished. All Jesuit property was confiscated by the state, and they were sent to the papal dominions, only to be turned away and compelled to endure untold miseries and hardships, sailing from port to port in order to find some place where they might be allowed to land.

While Spain was thus occupied with its affairs at home, France tried its best to draw Charles into another conflict with England. Choiseul ceded Louisiana to Spain in 1764 and urged Aranda to sieze the Falkland Islands. Bucareli, the governor of Buenos Ayres, carried out this attack and drove the English from those barren lands in 1770. Another

Spain. This movement against the Society began in Portugal and France, but up to the time of the expulsion, Charles had given no evidence of any sympathy against the religious order. It seems that the events of 1767 change his position in this respect and his growing suspicion of the followers of Loyola was being shifted to Pastorino by the school of anti-clerical reformers. The efforts were spared by time to bring on the downfall of this Italian order. Evidence of a very unfortunate against the Jesuit family was produced, or rather manufactured, and the cabalistic of the previous year was declared to have been the work of the Jesuits. In spite of the strenuous remonstrances of Clement XIII Charles signed the decree which banished every Jesuit from his lands. Aranda was ready to carry out his King's wishes and arranged matters so skilfully that the people knew nothing about the abolition of the Society until it had been accomplished. All Jesuits regularly was confiscated by the state, and they were sent to the papal dominions, only to be turned away and compelled to endure untold miseries and vicissitudes, wandering from port to port in order to find some place where they might be allowed to land.

While Spain was thus occupied with its affairs at home, France tried its hand to draw Spain into another civilize with Poland. Choiseul sent Dumouriez to Spain in 1770 and urged Aranda to give the Polish Jesuits. Successfully, the governor of Buenos Ayres, carried out this attack and drove the Jesuits from those Spanish lands in 1770. Another

war with England was now immanent, but the downfall of Choiseul caused the withdrawal of France, leaving Spain to face England alone. Aranda saw the hopelessness of such a conflict and apologized for the act of war committed by one of his governors. As a result of this fiasco, Aranda was compelled to resign and Campomanes succeeded him, while he was made ambassador to France. In the mean time Monino, afterwards the Count Florida Blanca, had persuaded Clement XIV to issue the bull abolishing the Jesuit order. This was a great diplomatic victory and Monina was eventually chosen to succeed Grimaldi as foreign minister. During the term of his administration, Aranda had made great changes in social and economic conditions. He had diminished the powers of the clergy and especially those of the Inquisition. He established the first census in 1768 by which Spain was said to have 9,152,992 inhabitants. With his encouragement Don Pable Antonia Olavide established his settlements of Bavarian peasants in the Sierra Morena in 1767. These colonists, brought over by one Colonel Thurriegel had been entirely assimilated by the native population as early as 1834.

Campomanes who was next in rank to Grimaldi continued the domestic reforms of Aranda and earned for himself a reputation in Spain similar to that held by Adam Smith in England and by Turgot in France. He was respected for his integrity, the breadth of his views and for his superior intelligence.

The reorganization of the army instituted by Aranda

war with England was now imminent, but the downfall of Ghislaul caused the withdrawal of France, leaving Spain to face England alone. Arrada saw the hopelessness of such a conflict and sympathized for the sake of his country, and of his government. As a result of this fiasco, Arrada was compelled to resign and Gayoso succeeded him, while he was made ambassador to France. In the very time Gayoso, afterwards the Count Florida Blanca, had recommended Charles III to issue the royal decree of the Jesuit order. This was a great diplomatic victory and Gayoso was eventually chosen to succeed Grimaldi as foreign minister. During the term of his administration, Arrada had made great changes in social and economic conditions. He had diminished the power of the clergy and especially those of the Jesuit order. He decreed the first census in 1768 by which Spain was said to have 9,130,000 inhabitants. With the encouragement of Don Pablo Antonio Olavide and Lopez Ulloa, settlements of Spanish peasants in the Sierra Morena in 1767. These colonists, brought over by one Colonel Thurriegel had been actively assisted by the native population as early as 1751.

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The reorganization of the army instituted by Arrada

was soon put to a test in a small war in Africa with Moors in 1775. A peace was made favorable to the Spaniards, but the next year another expedition of 22,000 men under an Irishman, O'Reilly, was disastrously beaten. O'Reilly was nearly mobbed when he returned to Spain, and Grimaldi was allowed to resign his position as Secretary of State and named Florida Blanca as his successor.

Monino, who was an adherent of Grimaldi, had been the head of the "golilla" party. He was the son of a notary and had worked his way up in the administrative and political hierarchies, finally securing the ambassadorship to Rome. There he distinguished himself as a most astute diplomat. He was of a cold and reserved temperament ; of a methodical mind and possessed of a cautious, though despotic nature. His enemies called him "the old fox." He inaugurated an independent foreign policy and refused to follow France blindly as Grimaldi seems to have done. He profited by the American war by regaining Florida and Minorca ; though he failed to secure Gibraltar. He allied Spain with Portugal, made an advantageous commercial treaty with England and put an end to the raids of the Barbary Corsairs. He recognized the ability and worth of Campomanes, though he disliked him personally, thereby showing himself to be a truly great man.

When Florida Blanca became Secretary of State, the great Pombal was occupied with the extension of Portuguese territory in America, and this at Spain's expense. He invaded

was soon put to a test in a moral war in Florida which broke in 1776. A Tories had made Tavor Hill so hot for Presidents, but the next year another crisis came in the 17,000 by Moore in Florida, O'Reilly, the Alcalde would begin. O'Reilly was nearly robbed when in return to Spain, the Triumph and allowed to resign his position as Secretary of State and Governor Florida Tiwon as his successor.

Morino, who was an adherent of Tatis Lij, had been the head of the "Spilliy" party. He was the Count of a notary and had worked his way up in the admin service and political hierarchies, finally securing the wrong-doingly to Tuna. There an distinguished himself in a most cruel dilemma. He was of a cold and reserved temperament ; of a mathematical mind and possessed of a cautious, "hands off" policy in matters. His enemies called him "the old fox." He inaugurated an independent foreign policy and refused to follow Tuscot blindly as Grimaldi seems to have done. He portions of the Spanish war by requiring Florida a "Tuscon" ; though he failed to secure Dinwiliar. He allied Tiris with Tuscot, and on several occasions commercial treaty with Tuscot and had [illegible] to the ruins of the secretary Cornelia. A recognized the ability and worth of Campomanes, though he disliked him personally , thereby alienating Minaglt so he ; "real" great man.

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Buenos Ayres and the Spaniards retaliated by seizing Sacramento and the island of Santa Catalina off Rio Janeiro. This little war was brought to an end in 1777 by the death of Joseph I of Portugal and the dismissal of Pombal by Maria Francesca, the new Queen, who had no special regard for the man who had plotted to deprive her of her throne. She was the neice of Charles III and after adjusting the difficulties in Brazil, the treaty of Pardo was made between the two peninsular kingdoms in 1778. The treaties of 1777 and 1778 with Portugal were considered by Florida Blanca to have been the most important achievements of his ministry. In 1776 the Inquisition made its last effort to assert its judicial powers by an courageous attack on Olavide for the crime of non-belief and Voltaireism. The great philanthrope and economist was condemned to imprisonment after suffering many indignities but was finally pardoned by the king.

The recognition, by France, of the American insurgents in 1778 had been the cause of declaration of war by England against France. France asked that in pursuance of the Pacte de Famille, Spain should join her against the English and thus check their steadily increasing power ; while England tried to prevent this by pointing out the evil effects a successful rebellion in the English colonies would have in the adjacent Spanish colonies of America. Aranda, who was then ambassador to France, was for war ; the king did not like the English and wished to regain Gibraltar ; but Florida Blanca was cautious and in 1779 he offered to mediate between France and England.

France Africa and the Spanish retaliated by seizing Gibraltar and the islands of Santa Catalina off Rio Janeiro. This little war was brought to an end in 1777 by the death of Joseph I of Portugal and the dismissal of Pombal by Maria Francesca, the new Queen, who had no special reason for the man who had plotted to deprive her of her throne. On her succession Charles III and Prince Antonio the difficulties in Brazil, the treaty of Pardo was made between the two contending dynasties in 1778. The treaties of 1777 and 1778 with Portugal were considered by Florida Blanco to have been the most important achievements of his ministry. In 1779 the Dynastic made its last effort to assert its imperial powers by an unprovoked attack on Gibraltar for the crime of non-belief and Voltairism. The great philanthropic and economist was condemned to imprisonment after suffering many indignities but was finally pardoned by the King.

The recognition, by France, of the American independence in 1778 had been the cause of declaration of war by England against France. France asked that in pursuance of the Pacte de Famille, Spain should join her against the English and thus check their growth, increasing power ; while England tried to prevent this by winning out the evil effects a successful rebellion in the English colonies would have in the Spanish Bourbon colonies of America. Aranda, who was then ambassador to France, was for war ; the King did not like the English and wished to regain Gibraltar ; but Florida Blanca was cautious and in 1779 he offered to mediate between France and England.

This offer was scornfully rejected by the latter power and Charles followed with a declaration of war. The true reasons for this step were a deep-seated feeling of resentment on the part of the Spanish people ; dissatisfaction with the treaty of London in 1763, and because of the affair of the Falkland Islands in 1770.

The Spanish and French fleets were united at Cadiz for an invasion of England and though nearly twice as atrong as Rodney's Channel Fleet they did not dare attack him and at length sickness and storms compelled them to seek shelter in Brest. There were also a number of schemes advanced to bring about an uprising in Ireland, but these also failed. The siege of Gibraltar was raised by Rodney in January, 1780, by defeating and capturing the fleet of Longard. The Spaniards, on the other hand, had captured Florida, Campeachy and Mobile in America. Lord North now made overtures of peace with the cession of Gibraltar as a basis, but demanding Porto Rico, Oran, and Oman in return. These terms were not acceptable to Spain, hostilities were continued vigor, a fleet under Cordova and Gaston capturing a fleet of richly laden transports off the Azores. Charles also sent aid in money and supplies to the American insurgents ; while Florida Blanca formulated the doctrine embodied in the armed neutrality, by which England practically stood alone against continental Europe. The idea propounded was the right of neutral ships to enter belligernet ports while no effective blockade is being maintained and when they are not carrying contraband of war. England was not inclined to the arrangement which was clearly aimed

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against her supremacy on the sea. The Spaniards then attacked Minorca which was being defended by General Murray with a small, but determined body of men. General Cullen, a very able soldier, conducted the siege and finally gained possession of the Castle of Saint Philip in February, 1782, granting to Murray and his brave men the privilege of marching out with all the honors of war. Rodney defeated De Grasse in the East Indies, thereby putting those Spanish possessions once more at the mercy of the English.

Spain and France had agreed to stand together in making a treaty of peace, but before the failure of the great siege at Gibraltar France entered into negotiations with England contrary to her agreement. Spain then on her own account began to make overtures for peace to England, but her demands were exorbitant. Charles wanted Minorca, Florida, the Bahama Islands, evacuation of all the British settlements on the Gulf of Mexico, a share in the fisheries of Newfoundland, and finally the cession of Gibraltar, but this was while the great attack was being prepared. In return he offered Oran and a vague promise to favor England's trade in Spain. The English ministry said that they would not consider any proposal comprising the cession of Gibraltar as the people were determined to retain it at all costs, because of Elliot's glorious defence. Aranda carried on the negotiations and Franklin supported him in his demand for Gibraltar. The crafty American diplomat declared that England had no more right to the possession of

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Gibraltar than did Spain to Portsmouth. The two countries finally came to terms and a definite treaty was signed at Paris in January, 1783. This was, for Spain, the most advantageous treaty since that of St. Quentin. By this treaty of Paris or Versailles Charles received Florida and Minorca, while all other conquests were restored. The Bourbons were jubilant, but while France was almost insolvent, Spain had added £20,000,000 to its public debt on account of this war.

While the war against England was being carried on a rebellion, headed by an Inca chieftain, had broken out in Peru. These tumults were suppressed at a great cost, but were never formidable. The English pointed to these troubles as the natural sequence of Spain's attitude toward the English colonies in America, but the Spaniards declared that the trouble began before the Americans had obtained their independence.

Florida Blanca attempted to encourage commerce by treaties and in 1782 sent a Frenchman, onee Buligny, to Constantinople to negotiate a favorable treaty with the Sultan. The Algerian and Tunisian pirates were brought to time by means of well conducted punitive expeditions and a treaty was made by which piracy in the Mediterranean was stopped so that the coasts of Valencia again became populated and prosperous. By the marriage of his eldest daughter to John, the heir apparent to the Portuguese throne, Charles secured a family union by which he hoped to insure peace in the Peninsula. Toward the end of his reign the Pacte de Famille became troublesome

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to Charles. France, disturbed by internal troubles, tried to divert public attention at home by aggression abroad and naturally looked to Spain as her ally. Charles tried to avoid all foreign entanglements and refused to join France, Austria and Prussia. His latter days were embittered by the intrigues against his interest carried on by his son, the king of Naples, with Catherine of Russia.

Various changes for the bettering of the condition of his people marked the end of Charles' reign. Aranda was beginning to intrigue against Florida Blanca and with the aid of O'Reilly and the nobles he finally brought about his resignation in the subsequent reign.

In 1788 the king's health was beginning to fail and the death of his daughter-in-law in childbirth closely followed by that of his favorite son, Don Gabriel, hurried on thegood king's end. He died, after a short illness, on December fourteenth at the age of seventy-three.

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CHAPTER III.

ADMINISTRATION AND LEGISLATION.

"The absolute and unlimited possession of power concentrated without reserve or check, in the hands of a single man, no matter whether the use he puts it to is for good or for evil, is despotism." Montesquieu calls a country free when the legislative, judicial and executive podies are distinct. If these are confused there is despotism. The government of England was considered, by him, to be a popular one. The barriers to despotism are the laws and customs of the state, which is a moral barrier, and also the privileged classes, and finally religion. With the exception of England, the Protestant Netherlands and the cantons of Switzerland, all the countries of Christendom were ruled despotically during the eighteenth century. The right of absolute control asserted by these sovereigns was almost invariably based upon the divine principle and this was found to be the most convenient argument on which to base such claims .

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Empire independent municipal governments existed all over the Peninsula. The Goths introduced elective national councils and from these were developed the Cortex, The clergy, though influential, had no special privileges in these councils, and the municipalities, by means of deputies, really controlled these legislative bodies. After the battle of Gaudelet in 714 the Moors held sway in the Peninsula for 778 years and each province made its own laws and ran its own affairs during that period of subjugation. It was at this period that the clergy began to control the Cortes because of the martial occupation of the lay population and this ascendancy has continued to be characteristic of Spanish government since those days of Mohammedan rule in the Peninsula. The king had no influence whatever in the election of deputies and no one in the pay of royalty was allowed to represent the people for fear that they might not act in the interest of their constituents. The bodies of the deputies were inviolable and troops could not approach the place of meeting of the Cortes. The oath of office was sworn to the people and not to the king. Up to the time of the Austrian dynasty this was an effective check upon royal prerogative and Spain could boast of a truly representative government. The Justicia -mayor of those times was a sort of supreme court which defined the king's prerogative and acted as an intermediary between the people and the crown. "Thus the first period of Spanish history is that of popular control and all attempts to usurp the power were repressed.

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The crown, strong and respected, generally knew how to respect national institutions and how to submit to the wishes of the people. The kings did not believe that they compromised their dignity by a noble deference to the wishes of the people and understood that the freedom of the deputies was the best safeguard for the throne."[1]

The second period begins with the conquest of the Moors and contrary to the accepted opinion was not one of prosperity. There were three reasons for this, namely: the Inquisition, the wars of Charles V and the riches of America.

From the conquest of Granada to the war of independence absolutism reigned in Spain. The house of Bourbon accentuated the policy of concentration and modelled the Spanish after the French form of governemnt. The kings concentrated all power in their hands and cut it off from the nobles and the people by relying on their fanaticism and the influence of the clergy. The kings believed that they held their crown by right divine and assumed all powers of government independently of all social elements. They exercised legislative faculties either directly or by means of organisms created by them, by means of pragmatics, decrees or edicts. Justice was directly administered or delegated to corregidors, Alcaldes, courts, chanceries or audiences. The executive functions were exercised by corporations or functionaried named by the king, who often assigned judicial as well as administrative duties to the

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1. Marliani, Hist., Introduction.

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1. Merriam, Chas., Introduction.

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When Charles III came to throne the influence of the ultra-montane party had already been partially curbed and he made it his task to bring the clerical population under the absolute control of the crown. At that time the Spanish people had two venerated dogmas,-- religion and the throne, and his policy was to strengthen the throne and to difect it toward the prosperity of the people at the expense of Rome.

Charles' early efforts were principally directed toward the curtailment of those ecclesiastic powers and influences and he directed his corregidors to be on the lookout that the clergy should not usurp the royal jurisdiction. By decrees and proclamations Charles confined the powers of the Pope to purely ecclesiastic, that is to say, spiritual matters. Absolutists declared that all temporal questions were to be decided by the king alone, while the ultra-montane party upheld the supremacy of Rome. These two parties struggled against each other until the triumph of the absolutists was signalized by the expulsion of the Jesuits.

The Cortes [1] was no longer called to assemble excepting to swear the oath of allegiance when a new ruler came to the throne. This, however, was only a formality and the only other recognition which this body received from royalty was in the somewhat absurd custom of attaching a clause to

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royal decrees and pragmatics which declared that "they would have the same force as if they had been published by the assembly of the Cortes." Up to the time of the death of Charles III the Cortes had been convoked on only two occasions during that century and then the letters of convocation were sent to all the grandees and all the titulos of Castile ; all the prelates and all the cities which had the right to a seat in that body. The two first classes represented the nobles ; the third all the clergy, and the cities were represented by their sheriffs. The Cortes of the entire kingdom had not been assembled since 1713 when Philip V convoked them in order to have them ratify his pragmatic sanction. The Cortes of the separate kingdoms and principalities were sometimes consulted when the question of naturalizing a foreigner came up, but even then their members communicated only be letter, without assembling. There was, however, a sort of standing committee which was called the "Deputies of the Kingdom" whose original duty it had been to watch the administration of a tax known as millones and who were eight in number ; but Alberoni had taken away this function so that nothing remained but the titular honor connected with the position. These deputies of the kingdom were elected every six years ; Castile being represented by six while Catalonia and Majorca,and Valencia and Aragon had one deputy between them. The king used this committee to announce a new tax which he chose to impose and in this way the nation seemed to possess what looked like a shadow of a Cortes,

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but fell even short of that.

The three provinces of Biscay, Navarre, under the name of kingdom, and the principality of the Asturias were separate states which had neither custom houses nor intendants. All the rest of the monarchy was divided into twenty-six provinces, twenty-two being of the crown of Castile, and four of the crown of Aragon. Each of these twenty-six provinces, differing widely in area, had their intendant. There was still another division of the Peninsula for military purposes. There were thirteen governments, of which twelve were controlled by officers with the title of captains-general of the province ; but the commander of Navarre was called Vice-roy. The divisions by which the deputies of the kingdom were chosen were the most important administrative units, though the modes of administration employed in the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon differed widely. This lack of uniformity dated from the time of the junion of those two kingdoms.

From this it can be seen that there was practically no check to the king's authority. The councils were the organs of his will and his ministers to the agents. Until the formation of a regular cabinet by Florida Blanca in 1787, the king worked separately with each minister, though under difficult circumstances he would unite in council in order to secure their combined advice. The achievement which Florida Blanca considered to be one of the greatest of his administration was this founding of a regular cabinet and he devotes considerable

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space to enumerating its advantages in the Statement of his administration. A rather significant paragraph is the one in which the great minister defende his creation against its most dangerous calumniators. He says,"According to malicious censors the junta is nothing but an invention to control the free choice of the sovereign and a contrivance by which the minister of state may appropriate the authority of every department and dictate to his colleagues. Will not your Majesty have more persons of merit, from whom to make your choice, should some candidate be recommended by the Junta who did not occur to the Secretary ? Will not your Majesty acquire more certain information, by hearing the opinion of different ministers, whether against some of the candidates there may be any objection, or whether there may be more aptitude and ability in some than in others ? Sire, let us undeceive ourselves. Those who diminish their authority by this investigation, are we, the ministers and our dependents, and in proportion as ours is lowered, that of your Majesty rises. This is the truth and the rest is a mere pretence of the ambitious, to facilitate their own views, by communicating with a single person, or with the subaltern, whom they may deceive or gain. The minister of state remains under control, as well as the affairs which are pointed out by the royal decree ; and thus, far from augmenting his authority, as is pretended by unjust censurers, he diminishes it." This article shows better than anything else how jealously the prerogative of the king was guarded and

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that the strongest argument against a minister or against an institution was that the power of the king was curtailed by their existence. According to Florida Blanca's plan there were to be six ministers with the minister of state or foreign affairs at their head. There was then, the minister of foreign affairs, who was also called the first secretary of the state ; the minister of war, who presided at the council of war and reported to the king ; the minister of marine, who worked without a council ; the minister of finance whose office was united with that of general superintendent of finance ; the minister of the Indies, who had united under him all the civil, military, ecclesiastic and economic government of Spanish America and was only responsible to the council of the Indies of which he was generally president ; lastly there was the minister of grace and justice who had control of everything which pertained to magistracy and to ecclesiastic affairs. Charles III's government was characterized by its stability for it was said that : "when the prince had accorded his confidence, incapacity, poor success, nothing could make him withdraw it. His ministers were nearly certain to die in office, and this security did not tend in the least to increase their activity."[1] In the twenty-nine years of his reign Charles had but three different ministers of state, two of whom, Wall and Grimaldi, retired voluntarily, while the third survived the king.

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1. Bourg., Tome I, p. 200.

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1. Coxe., Tome I, p. 100.

The council of Castile[1] is first in rank both as a tribunal and as a council of administration, for it is the one and the other at the same time. As supreme tribunal, it has certain jurisdictions of its own, receives appeals from other tribunals and has the inspection of all interior operations which interest the public welfare.

This sovereign council was composed of five chambers or salas.[2]

The first sala de gobierno, had nothing but administrative functions. This chamber also sent appeals to the second sala de gobierno or to the chamber of justice.

The second sala de gobierno heard appeals sent to it by the other chamber and had charge of manufactures, bridges and high-roads.

The third chamber was called the "sala de mil y quinientos" that is, sala of one thousand five hundred, because those who appealed to this body were compelled to deposit fifteen hundred ducats, which they lost if the appeal were rejected.

The fourth chamber was called the "sala de justitia" and tried certain cases exclusively.

The fifth chamber was called "la sala de provincia." It judged the appeals of all important cases, and it tried all cases coming from the two civil lieutenants of Madrid and from

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1. Bourg., Tome I, Chapter XII.
2. Bourg., Tome I, p. 338.

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1. Hourq., Tome I, Chapter XII.
2. Hourq., Tome I, p. 356.

the judgments in civil matters of the Alcaldes de Cortes. These latter formed a sixth chamber known as the sala de los Alcaldes de casa y corte, which may be compared to the French Tournelle. Madrid was divided into a certain number of quarters, at the head of each of which was an Alcalde de corte. He judged in the first instance and concurrently with the civil lieutenants. The appeal from these decisions was made to the entire chamber de los Alcaldes de corte who alone could hear an appeal in the first instance in criminal matters. It was only in extraordinary cases that appeals were carried to the Council of Castile. This Council was the only tribunal which recognized the grandees of Spain and all its members enjoyed the right of committimus.

The corregidors were the provincial representatives of the king and received their orders through the Council of Castile as did also the intendants. The confusion of these two offices caused the decree of November 13, 1766, to be issued, by which the corregidors were to exercise all the functions of a police and judicial nature ; while the intendants were to have charge of taxation and revenue. These two officers were the direct intermediaries of the crown and constituted the connecting link between the people and royal councils. The province, during the reign of Charles III, had lost much of the political importance that it had had in the early days of Spanish independence. The absolutism of this reign would not permit the provinces to have independent or separate governments, but on the contrary they were made to be the secondary organisms

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of the central government and solely alloweed to carry out the dispositions made by it.[1] The province was really the historical division of Spain and Colmeiro declares that "provincial government, in his estimation, was one of the deepest marks of the Spanish national character." The duties of the corregidors and intendants covered every branch of administration and it was to them that the king looked for the successful working out of his system of government.

When Charles became king of Spain, the custom of electing candidates for municipal as well as provincial officers had died out and in place of it a system of corrupt and venal practices had arisen. Offices were bought and sold or inherited regardless of merit and were always held by the nobility. These conditions served to strengthen the central government, but robbed provincial as well as municipal government of all vitality. The Alcaldes who reported to the corregidors or the intendants considered themselves to be appointees of the king and paid no attention to the welfare of the people so long as they could please him.[2] The Alcaldes majores generally presided at all the municipal meetings, though the corregidor would often perform this function in the residence city or town. In the celebrated instruction to the corregidors issued in 1788 those officials were charged with the

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 529.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 96.

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1. A. y C., Vol. VI, p. 125.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 56.

"duty of administering justice and were entrusted with the care of the general interests of the nation and particularly those of the people. There existed nevertheless a great deal of confusion of powers and attributes, but the range of duties was so wide that it gave all control and annulled all local power, which had lost all its importance."[1] Charles III did, however, grant special privileges to the municipalities in the decree of March 5, 1766. Following, partially, the advice of Campomanes and Osirio, he created two offices for deputies elected by the people and also one syndic. This change was said to have worked to the greatest advantage of the various towns and villages, because of the zeal of those chosen for their merit alone. The increased interest shown in municipal embellishments and improvements marked this change in the mode of administration and though Charles had acted only on the advice of his ministers and not upon his own convictions he soon saw the advantages derived from popular interest in public affairs.[2]

For purposes of judicial administration, Spain was divided into two chanceries, that of Granada and that of Valadolid, having exclusive jurisdiction in certain matters in these districts. Appeals from judgments of these chanceries were only made when the appellant wished to incur the risk of

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 93.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 99.

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1. D. J. C., Vol. VI, p. 91.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 92.

appealing to the chamber of one thousand five hundred or in cases of denial of justice. All the criminal cases of the hildalgos were brought before these chanceries. Besides these chanceries there were six audiences, without counting the tribunal of Navarre, called Royal Council. Each chancery and each audience had a criminal chamber of last resort.

Bourgoing says : "For the rest, the limits of these different resorts are not sharply enough defined to prevent frequent conflicts of jurisdiction between the diverse tribunals. While the Council of Castile lost no opportunity to increase its authority, the chanceries and audiences fought against this continually." The Supplica was a form of procedure by which the same court revised its own judjment at the instance of the appellant. It was owing to the labors of Aranda that the abuses growing from the custom of making the church a place of refuge for criminals,and also the interference in temporal matters by the clergy, was stopped. The Camara was the great Chamber of the Council of Castile and was generally composed of the most ancient of the members of that body. It was the intimate council of the king and heard questions of great importance, as the succession of royalty and the processes between different cities. The judges of all tribunals were appointed by the king or by his appointees. On the whole, this system carried with it very little corruption, thoughthe lowest class of notaries, known as Escrivanos, had a deserved reputation for rapacity and dishonesty.

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The Spanish magistracy had a sort of hierarchy, at the head of which was the Camara. Descending from this were graded the members of the Council, of the chanceries and the audiences, the Alcaldes de corte, the corregidors and finally the Alcaldes majores, in the order named. The Alcaldes ordinario tried petty cases and were even robbed of this function when there was a corregidor or alcalde major in the village. He then became an alcalde pedanio who had arrests to make and had to carry out the orders of the corregidor. The nomination of the functionaries differed in different localities, but generally they were elected by the municipal bodies, though they might be chosen by lot or by the hidalgo, though the Council of Castile could exercise its right of nominating him if it chose. The corregidors and alcaldes majores were nominated by the king through the Camara. Campomanes instituted reforms for this class of magistrates which increased their efficiency by increasing their rewards. The corregidors in Madrid were appointed for life and were but officers of police and never lawyers."[1] "But in spite of this complicated system of magistracy in Madrid, which frequently gave rise to conflicts of jurisdiction, it must be admitted that there are few capitals in Europe where the police are better organized, where there is more security of where crime escapes less often the severity of the laws."

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1. Bourg., Tome I, p. 350.

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1. Poore, Item 1, p. 320.

It is hard to say which code of laws was followed in Spain during Charles' reign. According to old decrees the use of the Roman code was rigorously forbidden and yet many lawyers consulted it in order to be enlightened in different cases. Procedure was practiced according to Roman law, but the only authentic laws were those embodied in codes published by ancient kings. The one in general use was the one knows as La Novissima Recopilacion, published in 1567, which was a collection of diverse ordinances of the kings of Spain issued from the earliest times to the time of Charles. The alleged attempt of Charles to draw up a criminal code was only a proposition made by the Council of Castile to reform and revise the ancient criminal laws, some of which were objectionable, and this task had been assigned to a committee presided over by Campomanes. Torture had not been entirely abolished and one Castro wrote a book in its defence but was met with violent opposition. Canon law ruled all ecclesiastic questions, but all attempts to bring temporal matters under its jurisdiction were repressed. Aranda commanded all bishops and archbishops to prevent the publication of any and all papal bulls in Spanish without the approval of the king. The Holy Office of the Inquisition was still powerful when Charles came to the throne and in 1762 he issued a decree by which all the acts of this tribunal were subject to the revision of the king and also provided for the hearing of an author before his book should be condemned. But through the influence of his confessor,

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Charles was persuaded to repeal this salutary law shortly afterwards, and it was not until 1770 that a second decree was issued by which the jurisdiction of the Inquisition was limited to crimes of heresy and apostasy and it was also provided that no subject of the king could be imprisoned by the Holy Office without his guilt being proven.

In summing up the characteristics of the legislative and judicial institutions, it is apparent that the salient and predominant one is absolute and entire lack of system. Even the French system, before the Revolution, presented no such complications as did that of Spain. This was due not only to the peculiar development of government in the Peninsula, but also to the fact that a number of kingdoms were united under one crown, all of which had different institutions and, naturally, impressed some of their characteristics upon the national government.

Charles' broad plan was to exercise his absolute power to rid Spain of Church control and to destroy social, economic and administrative abuses which had taken deep root in that country. He and his ministers believed that the welfare of the nation lay in absolutism and Florida Blanca said : "No matter how pressing the need, be careful not to call the Cortes for they would soon be our masters."[1]

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1. Ibarra, Tomo I, p. 208.

CHAPTER IV.

INDUSTRIES AND AGRICULTURE.

The reforms so generally instituted by Charles III for the benefit of industry and agriculture had begun during the peaceful reign of his half-brother, Ferdinand VI ; though the changes made were not nearly as sweeping or as beneficial as those made by the younger brother. The increase of the nation's wealth, especially with respect to agriculture, was one of the constant aims of Charles, and he tried both by substantial works and by a splendid example to encourage and foster a love for agricultural pursuits. The gardens which he, the Prince of the Asturias, and the Infant had planted and cared for with their own hands is a good example of the particular interest he took in agriculture. In his famous Statement, Florida Blanca declares that agriculture is the first and most secure source of subsistence of man and of the real prosperity and wealth of the people and that the works of the would astonish and surprise posterity. Spain, constantly exposed to droughts, could not hope to become agricultural until irrigation had been introduced in those provinces where the infrequent rains made it impossible for the cultivator to reap the fruit of his labors. The minister then continues to enumerate the

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great irrigation works undertaken during his ministry, but as they are all either described or mentioned in the chapter on public works it will suffice to say that they were considered to be the the greatest works of their kind and in some instances comparable to those of the old Romans. Charles III did not confine his activities to the building of public works for the benefit of agriculture, but seeing that his people needed instruction in the art of cultivating the soil so as to produce more abundantly, he established a school of agriculture at the royal residence of Aranjuez and according to Florida Blanca the good results were plainly visible, at the time he was writing his Statement. He says : "We see arid lands, to-day, covered with several million olive trees, other lands, which are more fertile are set aside for the raising of cereals, and those which are situated on a low level, and therefore damp, are transformed into orchards or fields bearing mulberry trees, flax, hemp and all possible kinds of fruits and vegetables."[1] After enumerating many other advantages and improvements made at the royal agricultural college, he continues : "The great works which Your Majesty ordered me to execute in order to attain the highest degree of perfection and utility with respect to agriculture, are and always will be an eternal monument of your solicitude for the progress and amelioration of the farms. Perfectly constructed wine and oil presses are used for the

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1. F. B., Statement.

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Federal constructions along the old pyramids are used for the

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1. M. S., Statement.

manufacture of those products, and they are stored in immense barrels and vessels holding many thousand arrobas. All this is only a model, or rather a practical school of agriculture, where Your Majesty, as the first cultivator as well as the most experienced farmer in the agricultural industry, instructs your subjects in the profession, which is without a question, the most necessary to the prosperity of the kingdom."[1] If the above extracts seem to be animated by self-interest or desire to flatter, it is easily seen from the decrees and edicts issued by Charles III that he did try to achieve these ends which his minister said resulted because of his reforms.

The Most Catholic Kings fortified the liberty and proprietary rights of the peasants, but did not remove the grave obstacles which the Middle Ages had placed in the way of agricultural progress. In 1490 the people of Granada were forbidden to enclose their lands, nor were they allowed to take the grass or natural fruits, without a special permit from the king. All cattle and sheep were allowed to roam over the agricultural lands and the rights of the cultivator were totally disregarded. Such was the state of affairs when Charles III came to the throne and with him began the emancipation of agriculture from that destructive curse, the Mesta. The Mesta was a guild or society composed of large landed proprietors, monasteries or rich individuals who had banded themselves to-

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1. F. B.'s Statement.

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1. P. J. A. Fitzmaurice.

together for the purpose of protecting their distructive pasture-rights granted them during the Middle Ages. The right to drive their cattle or sheep through the country without regard to proprietary rights remained undisputed.until Campomanes and Florida Blanca attacked this great evil.

In the years 1766 and '67 the Council of Castile issued a statement of the causes of the decadence of agriculture and suggested remedies for its betterment. Campomanes also drew up plans for the improvement of the condition of the peasantry and his first step was to limit the power of the Mesta. Bourgoing in speaking of this institution says : "This abuse does not only benefit the rich and powerful, but also promotes idleness and the short-sighted interest which causes the pasturing of sheep to be preferred to the progress of agriculture."[1] The unhappy province of Estremadura, which could easily support two million people, had only about one hundred thousand, this scarcity of inhabitants being attributed entirely to the privileges which the Mesta enjoyed in this region.[2] In 1778 decrees were issued to the people of the new settlements in the Sierra Morena permitting them to fence in their farms "so that the new settlements would not have to experience the evils which afflicted the rest of the kingdom. By the decree of April 29, 1788, the rights the fence in homestead lands on which were planted olive trees or vines was granted to the

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1. Bourg., I, p. 95.
2. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 95.

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1. Tomo., I, p. 36.
2. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 83.

owners. Forests and trees were also to be protected and the proprietor was to be allowed to enclose his land without having to obtain this privilege as a special concession.[1] Although these reforms were not general in their results and men like Bourgoing and Townsend still perceived the bad effects of the pastoral privileges, a Spanish author says : "Campomanes as well as Florida Blanca and Jovellanos, realized the good economic doctrine in this respect, and no one can deny that its good effect was initiated and proclaimed during the reign of Charles III." "The proprietary rights of the peasant, if not established during the reign of Charles were at least recognized."[2]

In the year 1767 Charles abolished the octroi taxes so as to afford greater facility for the marketing of products His decree abolishing the tax on grain when transported from one province to another was issued in 1765. Danvila says that during this reign "the principle of free trade in all the products of the soil was established ; the principle of rural proprietary rights, and it had also been recognized that cultivation of the soil should be restricted only in so far as it should be required for the public good."[3] By these restrictions the author meant such as the one made in the decree of February 13, 1785, by which the Lake of Llano-Quarte was not

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 221.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 224.
3. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 223.

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 321.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 324.
3. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 323.

allowed to spread over the adjoining territories for purposes of irrigation as that had caused severe epidemics of fevers.

The public graneries, where seed for sowing was distributed, had been founded in the sixteenth century and Charles III, recognizing the value of these institutions, issued various decrees from 1761 to 1788 to purify their administration and in the last year of his reign conferred their supervision on the corregidors. No land banks were established, however, as was the case in most of the other European countries at this time. The protection of the rural districts was in the hands of a sort of brotherhood, known as the Hermanidad, which was founded by the Catholic kings. The services rendered by this body were of great value to the people and in order to increase their powers Charles issued a decree in 1762 limiting each town to one judge, one commissioner and one tax collector, so as to diminish the preponderant influence of the magistracy. The duties of these officers were, the prosecution of wrong-doers, the pretection of the rights of peasants and the supervision of the collection of royal revenues.

In order to remedy the decrease of the population in Spain, Charles ordered that a census be taken by the various bishops and archbishops. The result of this first census, made in 1768, showed a population of 9,152,099 inhabitants, and Florida Blanca, doubting the accuracy of this count, caused another to be taken in 1778 showing that there were 10,268,150

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The public grammarie, where land for roaming was distributed, had been founded in the sixteenth century and Charles III, recognizing the value of these institutions, issued various decrees from 1761 to 1788 to purify their administration and in the last year of his reign conferred their supervision on the corregidores. No land tenure was established, however, as was the case in most of the other European countries at this time. The protection of the rural districts was in the hands of a sort of brotherhood, known as the Hermandad, which was founded by the Catholic kings. The services rendered by this body were of great value to the people and in order to increase their power Charles issued a decree in 1788 limiting each town to one judge, one commissioner and one tax collector, so as to diminish the irresponsible influence of the magistracy. The duties of these officers were, the prosecution of wrong-doers, the protection of the rights of peasants and the supervision of the collection of royal revenues.

In order to remedy the decrease of the population in Spain, Charles ordered that a census be taken by the various bishops and archbishops. The result of this first census, made in 1768, showed a population of 9,158,000 inhabitants, and Florida Blanca, describing the country of his count, caused another to be taken in 1778 showing that there were 10,268,150

inhabitants. Even previous to the first census, Charles had begun to adopt means to increase his population by other than natural methods. The colonization of the Sierra Morena, a district which had hitherto been the haunt of thieves and robbers, had been the most notable of these attempts to increase the population. By a royal decree of April 2, 1767, a Bavarian colonel named Thurriegel was authorized to collect a large number of German Catholics to settle in the above named district. In this way more than six thousand colonists of both sexes were brought into Spain and the wilderness was changed into cultivated fields. Many Greek colonists came into Spain and the intendants and corregidors were told to report on the depopulated places of their districts and to suggest means by which the evil might be remedied.

Of the many impediments opposed to the development of agriculture, the tenure of land in mortmain was one of the most serious. There was a civil and an ecclesiastic form of mortmain, the former being the result of inheritance by majorats which corresponds to the practice of entail, and the latter by simple ecclesiastic tenure. In the entailed lands the proprietors neglected to cultivate their fields, caring little whether or not they improved them ; while the Church property was of no economic benefit to the kingdom. Headed by Campomanes a movement against this system of land tenure was inaugurated and the question was brought up for discussion before the Council of Castile. After considering the question at

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Of the many improvements proposed in the development of agriculture, no issue of land in mortmain was one of the most serious. There was activity and an occasionally form of mortmain, the former being the result of indirectness in conveyance which corresponds to the practice of entail, and the latter by simple association tenure. In the original lands the proprietors maintained considerably the our fields, certain little whether or not they improved them ; while the church property was of no economic benefit to the kingdom. Headed by Campomanes a movement against this system of land tenure was inaugurated and the question was brought up for consideration before the Council of Castile. After considering the question at

some length, it was decided by this body that since the lands of the clergy were the best cultivated and since the proprietors of papal lands always treated their tenants with great kindness, the decadence of agriculture could not be traced to the ecclesiastical and feudal institution of land tenure. As early as 1760, however, Charles issued a decree by which he defined the taxable lands of the clergy and in 1763 he forbade the further acquisition of land by the Church.[1] On September 25, 1770, a roual decree of the Council was issued, prohibiting the city of Cordova from either selling or giving any property to a religious order and forbidding the notaries to transfer real estate to the Church, under pain of deprivation of office. The king also created societies, to which he offered prizes to the author of the best essay against entails.[2] All these measures prepared the way for the final abolition of this evil and it was only six months after Charles died that his son, Charles IV, forbade the foundation of entails or the perpetuation of titles to real estate without the lisence of the king.

The industries of Spain had been the subject of many attempts at amelioration since the accession of the first Bourbon but the mothods adopted, though well intentioned, were not, as a rule, successful. Louis XIV sent a large number of skilled workmen to Spain so as to introduce the industries

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 284.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 285.

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1. D. P. C., Vol. VI, p. 884.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 885.

and arts of France, but the results obtained by these methods were only temporary. Instead of introducing foreign workmen, Charles III tried to teach his own people the various arts and trades and in order to more easily accomplish this he limited the powers of the guilds and corporations, generally known as gremios. He also decreed that the occupations and trades, which had previously been considered vile and degrading by the nobility, could be practiced without causing the loss of casts, nor did it incapacitate them for holding municipal offices. In a decree of September 2, 1784, he made illegitimacy no bar to the learning of an art or trade. In 1768 the manufacture of soap was made free and in 1777 many other manufactures were relieved of restrictions. In 1786 Charles established textile schools and one year later he issued a decree allowing textile factories to have as many rooms as they wanted. Danvila says : " The freedom of manufactures needed only to be proclaimed as had that of agriculture and internal traffic."[1] In spite of this rather sweeping statement of the Spanish historian we cannot help but doubt the existence of this boasted liberty for the days of monopolies and governmental enterprises had not yet passed. In 1773 Charles gave to the glass factory of San Ildefonso the exclusive privilege of selling its products within an area of twenty leagues in and around Madrid. The cloth factories of Guadalaxara and Brihuega had similar

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 236.

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 255.

privileges as against the private manufacturers. Many beneficial reforms were made, however, and there can be no doubt that manufactures flourished as they never had before. In a decree of December 27, 1772, all manufactures of wool, flax or hemp were declared free of all internal customs duties and an export of only two and a half percent was to be charged, while raw material was to be charged with the full tax of fifteen per cent[1] Another decree of April 6, 1775, permitted the free importation of hemp and flax as well as the machines and tools for the spinning and weaving of these materials.[2] By a royal decree of December 24, 1785, all the sales of hemp and flax in the province of Castile were freed from the alcabalas.and the cientos. The decree of 1756, by which only the finest wool cloth was exempted from taxes, was so changed in 1777 as to include all the grades of manufacture. The manufacture of paper received substantial encouragement by concessions made in 1780. More privileges were granted to the cloth manufacturers in 1781 and in 1786 most of the Alcabalas and Cientos taxes on these products were abolished. "If all the protective measures adopted by Charles were enumerated, the catalogue would be very large, for it would be difficult to encounter an industry which did not merit the attention of the monarch; but those indicated will sufice for an understanding of the spirit and tendency of the measures adopted for the promotion

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 237.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p.

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1. D. y O., Vol. VI, p. 437.
2. Ibid, Vol. VII, p.

and protection of the national industries."[1] Besides the concessions made to private industries, Charles III tried, by his example, to teach the people new arts or new methods. He spent large sums in founding royal manufactures, such as the cotton factory of Avila, the glass factory of San Idlefonso, and the china manufacture at Buen Retiro. This last industry consumed large sums, but its products, though good enough for the royal palaces, did not prevent the importation of foreign ware. Danvila says in closing his chapter on the industries, "Charles III gave to the Spanish industry the protection and liberty which it needed to live, flourish and progress."[2] Charles III was the first Spanish monarch to authorize and protect the use of a trade mark. By a royal resolution of February 18, 1777, and by decrees issued by the Junta of Commerce in the following year, the affixing of labels on foreign goods and on those manufactured in Spain was provided for. In 1786 Charles decreed the adoption of trade marks by different firms, so that the quality might be known by the purchaser and all those using false or misleading marks should be denounced to the justices so as to punish and correct this fraud.[3]

Colmeiro, in speaking of the industrial conditions under Charles III, says : "The principle of controlling industry gave way to that of freedom as developed by Adam Smith";[4]

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1. D. y C., Vol. p. 238.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 240.
3. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 242.
4. Colmeiro, Vol. II, p. 356.

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1. D. y C., Vol. p. 266.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 240.
3. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 242.
4. Colmeiro, Vol. II, p. 326.

but he continues at another point that since the time of Philip V there had not been a single writer of note who advocated free trade. Colbert was the model statesman for the Spaniards of the eighteenth century and their great aim was to follow the lines of his policy.

The regulation of mines was another task undertaken by Charles. In the year 1783 the Junta general de Commercio, Moneda y Minas, upon an application for a license to discover mines, made by a citizen of Valencia, issued a decree by which it was made a law not to grant licenses of that kind to individuals, because of the abuses which arose therefrom.[1] By a royal decree of August 15, 1783, in recognition of the growing importance of coal, various advantages were granted to the owners of the coal mine of Villanenva del Rio. "The ordinances for mines, the considerable reduction of the price of quicksilver and the propagation of the natural sciences in Spain to such a degree, that when hardly a year had passed after the death of Charles III, his august successor was able to declare the products of the coal mines to be free and also to emancipate its traffic both by land and by sea, affirming the fundamental principles on which was to rest all modern legislation."[2]

The influence of the gremios, which were guilds or corporations formed for the protection of various trades or

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 520.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 522.

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The influence of the grandes, which were cities or corporations formed for the protection of various trades or

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 460.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 462.

industries, was greatly weakened during the reign of Charles III. These institutions were a great hindrance to all material development and naturally drew upon themselves the attacks of all enlightened men of those times. All trades were under the absolute control of their respective guilds and the most stringent rules governed the members. The marquis of Ensenada had attempted to reform the gremios but public opinion was against this. The Count of Campomanes attacked guild organizations, and although other authors defended them, they could not prevent Jovellanos from censuring them and proclaiming the liberty of arts and trades, which prevailed in the end, following the example of countries which were the most enlightened and progressive.[1] The most important guild in Spain was the one in Madrid, known as the Cinco Gremios mayores, which besides having many monopolies, did nearly all of the banking business before the foundation of the Bank of San Carlos. Instead of promoting the industries and procuring work for the Spaniards in the factories, the Cinco Gremios mayores constituted a large commercial association, which only cared for its own interests, disturbing with its large capital both the foreign and internal commerce."[2] The Spanish author then continues, "As soon as Charles decreed the liberty of agriculture and industrial pursuits, the guilds lost their raison d'etre, and the spirit of control and monopoly, characteristic since the beginning of their legal existence, gave way to the principles of economic liberty, which has contributed so

1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 243.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 243.

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 242.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 243.

much to the prosperity of the nation. This result was solely due to the economic policy initiated during the reign with which we are dealing."

As characteristics of the changes wrought by Charles III and his ministers may be taken the founding of the numerous economic societies in nearly all the larger cities of the kingdom. These societies were composed of the best and most enlightened subjects of the kingdom, whether laymen or ecclesiastics. The encouragement given these creations of liberalism by the government is a good proof of the sincerity of Charles III in his desire for the welfare of his people. The clergy because of their superior talents did much to increase the usefulness of these societies, though the nobility having been aroused from their long period of idleness gave great prestige to those institutions. The first society founded in Spain was that known as the Sociedad Bascongada, being composed of people of that province. In August of the year 1765, this society received the approbation of the king and Peha Florida who had shown great zeal in the promotion of this enterprise was nominated its first president. In 1766 he published an essay of the Basque Society, dedicated to the king, in which he enumerated the objects of the society. Besides dwelling on the necessity of encouraging agriculture and on the facilities offered by the Basque provinces, the author discourses on various agricultural topics, as well as the planting of trees. His second memoir deals with commerce and industry

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and the necessity of uniting the latter with agriculture in order to derive the greatest benefit. The third memoir deals with public sanitation and the ravages of small-pox at Azcoitia in the years 1762 and 1763 ; and lastly Florida Pena wrote on domestic economy and incidentally described a pnuematic machine for the preservation of meat.[1] The improvements wrought by this society in the educational system are described in another chapter. The royal ordinance authorizing the establishment of this society, dated April 8, 1765, declared expressly : "that the purpose of these meetings was very laudable, conforming entirely with the maxims which the king is trying to spread among his subjects for the progress of arts and sciences. His Majesty would even like to see that the example set by the nobles of the Basque province would be imitated by those of other provinces of the kingdom, by causing to be established societies which would be equally useful to the state."[2] At the suggestion of Campomanes the people of Madrid founded a similar society in 1775 and as all the princes of the royal family became members it soon possessed great influence. Many important measures, such as that of July 9, 1778, forbidding the importation of hats, gloves, stockings or sashes for men and other manufactured articles were proposed by the Madrid sociaties. The ordinance of March 24, 1779, which forbade the importation of all kinds of wearing apparel, etc., as well as

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1. Muriel, Vol. VI, p. 105.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 106.

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1. Murel, Vol. VI, p. 106.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 108.

that of March 18, 1783, declaring the trade of a tanner, blacksmith, tailor, shoe-maker, etc., compatible with nobility, were suggested by the patriotic societies.[1] The Council charged these bodies with examination of the regulations and corporations of the merchants and of the hospitals. In the memoirs of the Madrid society every topic of agriculture, industry and commerce was discussed and prizes were given to those who offered the best solutions for the various problems. Care was taken to introduce all the best economic works of foreign countries and all sorts of weaving and spinning machines were imported. The government and the individuals of the society contributed large sums of money to found a loan bank where poor women might obtain the means to buy raw materials for this spinning and weaving. The societies founded by the most enlightened women of the nation were mainly active in educational branches, though by their resolution to wear nothing that was manufactured outside of Spain they are entitled to credit as having aided the industries. The patriotic society of Madrid had imitators in nearly every large town and in 1787 there were as many as fifty-four. In conclusion it might be said that these economic societies ought not to be judged so much by what they did (which was by no means insignificant), but rather by the tendency of the times which they indicated. For it showed that Charles III saw that after all the welfare of the

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 108.

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1. Q. y D., Vol. VI, p. 102.

people lay in their own efforts and that he could only direct them into the right channels.

CHAPTER V.

PUBLIC WORKS.

Next to the oppressive system of taxation and customs duties the greatest evil of Spanish economic life was the general lack of transportation facilities which made interprovincial trade almost impossible. The roads were so bad in 1760 that grain and other food products could be transported only by beasts of burden and travel by carriages was almost unknown. Even as late as 1765 when the provincial douanes were removed it was said that the benefits of free trade could not be appreciated until the roads had been put into condition fit for wagon transport.

Charles III from the beginning of his reign studied to remedy this defect and his earlier ministers, notably Squillacci and Grimaldi, attempted to improve the conditions of internal communications and for this purpose received the entire revenue derived from the salt tax. This amounted to about 150,000 pounds annually and in his Memorial Florida Blanca points out that in the nineteen years prior to his administration "only ten leagues were completed of the road between Aranjuez and Valencia, the same number in that of Barcelona, about three from Corunna, and less than one in the road to Andalusia. Even these scanty portions, those of the royal

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Next to the oppressive system of taxation and customs duties the greatest evil of Spanish economic life was the general lack of transportation facilities which made inter-provincial trade almost impossible. The roads were so bad in 1750 that grain and other food products could be transported only by pack of burden and travel by carriage was almost unknown. Even as late as 1765 when the provincial Economos were removed it was said that the benefits of free trade could not be appreciated until the roads had been put into condition fit for wagon transport.

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residences, and those of the passes of Guaderrania and Santander, constructed in the former reign, were so neglected as to be almost impracticable. The neighboring occupants had taken possession of part of the ground destined for that of St. Andero; the same thing had happened in regard to the road in Navarre, Biscay, Alava and Guipuscoa, which those provinces had themselves undertaken ."[1]

In the nine years of Florida Blanca's administration all the roads which had been neglected were repaired, as were all drains and bridges.[2] During that peiord more than 195 leagues of road were constructed, and more than 200 were repaired. Besides this 322 bridges were erected and 46 repaired ; and more than 1049 drains were built.[3] A new regulation was issued by which a laborer was assigned to each league of road, with a superintendent for every eight. Forty-nine houses were erected to serve as shelter to travellers in case of accident. "Inns, post-houses, hermitages, large churches and even towns have been built in proper places, that there may be convenient habitations on all roads."[4]

The greatest achievements in the line of road building were the roads over the pass of the Sierra Morena, that of Puerta de Cadina, the road to Carthagena ; the road from

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[1] F. B.'s Statement.
[2] D. y C.
[3] F. B.'s Statement.
[4] Ibid.

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In the nine years of Florida Blanca's administration all the roads which had been neglected were repaired, as were all drains and bridges.[2] During that period more than 150 leagues of road were constructed, and more than 200 were repaired. Besides this 327 bridges were erected and 49 repaired; and more than 1063 drains were built.[3] A royal regulation was issued by which a laborer was assigned to each league of road, with a superintendent for every eight. Forty-nine houses were erected to serve as shelter to travellers in case of accident." "Inns, post-houses, hostelries, large cortezas and even towns have been built in proper places, that there may be convenient habitations on all roads."[4]

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3. F. C.'s statement.
4. Ibid.

Antiquera to Malaga, and the road to Galicia from Astorga." The road through the Sierra Morena was said to be admired by all foreigners who travelled over it because of its breadth and solidity.[1] Florida Blanca thinks it worth mentioning in his Statement that a diligence had been established between Cadiz and the capital as a proof of the improvement of the roads of the kingdom. A regular stage line was also established between Bayonne and Madrid, with inns at regular intervals of a day's journey. The expense of these undertakings in the way of road building amounted to upward of 1, 078,125 pounds and since the tax on salt only produced 348,000 pounds in nine years, upwards of 550,000 pounds had to be raised by some other means than crown taxes. Various ecclesiastics and economic societies as well as generous individuals contributed largely to this great work both in money and in labor. After the postal service had been made to produce revenue, Florida Blanca used the profits to maintain the ways of transportation, though he was greatly censured for putting this money to that use since the public debt or rather the debts of the crown still remained unpaid.[2] Against this charge the minister urges the comparative benefits of good roads as against the payment of debts acquired in former reigns.

Florida Blanca claims to have reduced the cost of building a league of road from 50,000 pounds to about 17,000

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 515.
2. F. B.'s Statement.

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1. D. P. C., Vol. VI, p. 615.
2. F. B.'s Statement.

pounds and says that this is due to "the extraordinary activity and intelligence of zealous magistrates and their dependents, or to that of certain worthy patriots, who, without any other pay or reward than what they expect from heaven, quit their own business, the pleasure and comforts of their families, to expose themselves to the fatigue and the rigors of the seasons, in order to superintend the execution of the works."[1]

Charles III believed not only in the necessity of good roads for the advancement of industries but also tried to develop canals for purposes of irrigation as well as navigation. "Spain,"says Florida Blanca in his Statement,"always exposed to drought, cannot become agricultural, unless irrigation be substituted to supply the rain which is wanting in most of the provinces, that the peasant may obtain the fruit of his labors."

The canal of Aragon, a tremendous work, was begun in the reign of Charles I but the difficulties were too great for the engineers of those days and Charles III was the first ruler to resume work on approximately the same plan as it had been begun in the sixteenth century. A royal decree of February 28, 1768 authorized the Frenchman D. Augustin Badin to continue the canal as far as Quinto. Various difficulties compelled the company which had undertaken the work to give it up in 1772, and in 1778 a junta was created for the purpose of continuing this work and D. Ramon Pignatelli, canon of Saragossa, was

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1. F. B., Statement.

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1. F. P., Statement.

placed at the head of this new corporation with full power to direct all its details.[1] Muriel says "that this undertaking reminds one of the greatness of those of the Romans"[2] and the idea was to establish water communication between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean by using the river Ebro. At the time of Charles' death in 1788 navigation was possible as far as Valdegurriana. The canal was not finished until 1790 and it was then navigable for barges of 100 tons burden and irrigated 78,342 acres of land so that its price rose from 2 pounds to 70 pounds an acre and in years of famine in Castile grain could be sent from Aragon where formerly there was hardly enough for home consumption. The canal of Tausti was a tributary to that of Aragon formed by building a mole diagonally across the river Ebro. It watered 16,695 acres of land and was placed under the care of the Crown by the people of Tausti in 1780. The canal of Tortosa was under government care and was built to the port of Los Alfaques in order to avoid a trip on the sea It also served to irrigate lands which until then had been arid because of the lack of rain.

The canal of Urgel was begun in the reign of Charles I but had since been neglected. Florida Blanca issued an ordinance in 1786 for its improvement. The canal of Mazanares was a very old project and was planned to unite Madrid with

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 510.
2. Muriel, Vol. VI, p. 147.

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1. Q. y C., Vol. VI, p. 210.
2. Muriel, Vol. VI, p. 147.

Guadalquivir, establishing in that way communication by water between Madrid and Seville and was begun with the funds furnished by the Bank of San Carlos. The canal of Castile was first thought of in the reign of Ferdinand VI and had as its object irrigation of the arid districts of that province. It was never finished, however, and no direct benefits resulted from it.

The storage of water for the purpose of irrigation was practiced as early as the sixteenth century and the reservoir of Tibi, constructed by the celebrated Herrera, fertilized 9250 acres of orchard land in the vicinity of Alicanti. In the reigh of Charles III Florida Blanca was struck by the advantages of this work and began the building of two great reservoirs in the fertile territory of Lorca in the kingdom of Murcia. The thickness of the dikes was 150 feet and the height was planned to be 210 feet, holding 72 millions of cubic feet of water.[1] More than eight million reals were expended on these works and Llaurado declared that these so-called reservoirs of Puuntes were the greatest works of their kind in Europe. In 1802 the dikes of these reservoirs broke, causing the death of 608 and damage amounting to about one million pounds.[2] The districts benefited by the irrigation supplied by the reservoirs produced one hundred times as much as before.[3] Charles also built a road and aqueduct to Aguilas and estab-

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1. F. B., Statement.
2. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 514.
3. Muriel, Vol. VI, p. 288.

Guadalquivir, establishing in that way communication by water between Lorrio and Marilla and was begun with the funds furnished by the Bank of San Carlos. The canal of Marilla was first thought of in the reign of Ferdinand VI and had as its object irrigation of the arid districts of that province. It was never finished, however, and no direct benefits resulted from it.

The storage of water for the purpose of irrigation was practiced as early as the sixteenth century and the reservoir of Tibi, constructed by the celebrated Herrera, irrigated 2520 acres of orchard land in the vicinity of Alicant. In the reign of Charles III Florida Blanca had struck by the advantages of this work and began the building of two great reservoirs in the fertile territory of Murcia in the kingdom of Murcia. The thickness of the dikes was 150 feet and the height was planned to be 210 feet, holding 72 millions of cubic feet of water.[1] These than eight million pesetas were expended on these works. Lierena declared that those so-called reservoirs of Puentes were the greatest works of their kind in Europe. In 1802 the dikes of these reservoirs broke, causing the death of 608 and damage amounting to nearly one million pounds.[2] The districts benefited by the irrigation supplied by the reservoirs produced one hundred times as much as before. Charles also built a road and aqueduct to Aguilas and extend-

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1. P. R., Statement.
2. D. P. O., Vol. VI, p. 516.
3. Muriel, Vol. VI, p. 320.

lished a town of 400 people constructing the houses, building churches and the necessary public buildings.[1] He also built the town of Almuradiel in the Campo Nuevo of Andalusia and turned the surrounding country of arid waste into a fertile garden. Florida Blanca in his Statement, in closing his paragraph on canals and irrigation, calls the king's attention to the fact that all the expenses of his undertakings were derived from other sources than the regular revenues of the crown.

The fact that Charles III, or rather Florida Blanca, could find the means to carry on these great works of public utility is all the more remarkable when we consider that the treasury was burdened not only with debts of preceding reigns but that Charles was also engaged in most expensive wars, twice against Great Britain, against Portugal and finally against Algeirs and that these wars were a burden sufficient in themselves to tax the entire resources of a kingdom like Spain. But Charles did not confine his improvements to works of only economic value for municipal works were zealously carried on both by the government and the citizens of the various towns themselves. Madrid, naturally, became the first object of experiment in more modern ideas of cleanliness and beauty. Considerable sums were devoted to the broadening and paving of the greatly dilapidated streets. "The spacious and handsome entrances, roads, and walks of the great gate of Alcala,

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1. F. B., Statement.
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1. F. C., Memoirs.

that of the bridge of Segovia, that of Antocha, towards Valencia, the communications between these gates and that of Toledo, have been formed, to the immeasurable benefit of the capital, with the funds which your majesty has ordered me to employ to this end." A rather remarkable though undoubtedly a most useful institution was the founding of a washing-place in Madrid, for the washer-women, who were until then exposed to the extreme rigors of the seasons. This shelter provided for more than five hundred places so that it was large enough for all the washer-women of the capital. The botanical gardens of Madrid were founded both for purposes of instruction as well as for beautifying the city. In Toledo the government granted considerable aids for the improvement of the streets, entrances, roads and walks. The citizens formed beautiful terraces, repaired the ancient walls and bridges and erected statues presented by the king. Burgos received statues of the most celebrated rulers of Castile and in Saragossa a dike was built in order to prevent the overflowing of the rivers. In Malaga, the works of the river Guadal Medina, prevented the flooding of that city. This port was also cleaned and houses, walks and ornaments were built, as were also the two roads of Antequera and Velez and the famous aqueduct.[2] Florida Blanca, in his statement, gives great credit to the two brothers, the marquis of Sonora and Don Micheal the Galvey, citizens of

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 532.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 532.

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1. D. C., Vol. VI, p. 222.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 224.

Malaga, who labored with unspeakable zeal and activity to promote these undertakings, to find means for executing them, and to encourage industry, commerce and agriculture. In Barcelona were erected various works to ornament the streets and also to widen them. Pampeluna was improved by the patriotism and zeal of its inhabitants, while in Segovia the bishop and an economic society carried on most of the public improvements, always, of course, encouraged by the king. In Murcia great walls were erected to prevent floods and the king greatly aided in the building of other useful works. The streets were paved and widened in Valadolid, Palencia, Toro, Zamora, Seville and other cities through the aid furnished by the crown.

This brief summary will furnish a fair idea of the magnitude of Charles' work in the improvement of public property and, according to a great Spanish author, it is impossible to visit a single province without encountering proofs of the king's interest in public prosperity.[1]

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1. Q. y C., Vol. VI, p. 242.

CHAPTER VI.

FINANCE AND TAXATION.

[1]The finances of Spain were under the control of a council knows as Consejo Real de Hacienda. This council of finance was divided into different chambers as was the Council of Castile. The sala de govierno, sala de justitia, the sala de millones and the sala de la unica contribucion were the four divisions during the reign of Charles III. There were three directors general who controlled all the customs officials and tax collectors, for after 1747 taxes were no longer farmed out, excepting in a few special cases of which mention will be made at another point.

The sala de unica contribuccion was founded in 1749 for the purpose of administering a single tax which was to take the place of the various provincial taxes. It was said that more than thirty thousand people were employed in this chamber. Bourgoing says[2] that no definite results had been achieved by this body, though Florida Blanca in his statement calls attention to various reforms made during his administration in the way of simplifying the system of taxation.

The revenues were generally divided into two classes:

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The revenues were generally divided into two classes:

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namely the general and provincial revenues. The first were those derived from import and export duties and the income derived from monopolies of the crown. These general taxes increased from 960,000 pounds in 1783 to 1,200,000 pounds in 1785, an increase due principally to the impetus given to commerce by the policy of so-called free trade. There were also special taxes on wool, cocoa, sugar and paper which were considered to be general taxes. The salt monopoly generally produced about 160,000 pounds, but was not as oppressive or as bitterly opposed as was the gabelle in France, for instance.[1] The tobacco monopoly was one of the greatest sources of income which the crown possessed, for no other brand of tobacco could be brought into the kingdom than that manufactured by the government. In spite of very strict laws, contraband tobacco was constantly imported and sold at a much higher price than the regular brand. In 1776 this monopoly produced 870,000 pounds of revenue ; in 1776 more than 850,000; in 1784 730,000 pounds and in 1787 it rose to 1,290,000 because of the introduction of tobacco which had previously been sold only clandestinely. Other objects which had been made government monopolies were lead, powder, playing cards, sealing-wax and stamped paper.

The provincial rents were the most oppressive and complicated in Europe, and though Charles made various attempts

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The provincial rents were the most oppressive and complicated in Europe, and though Charles made various attempts

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1. Sorel., Vol. II, p. 8.

to improve the system he did not achieve any sweeping reforms in this respect. The millones were a tax levied on wine, oil, meat, vinegar, candles, etc. This tax was either levied directly or by taxing communities which sold these articles from a general store-house. In order to compel people to buy at these places very stringent and offensive rules were adopted. The second provincial tax was known as the alcabala and cientos levied on all sales of personal or real property and amounting to fourteen per cent as a rule, but differing widely according to the town or district. According to Ustarez the average amount of the tax was seven per cent. The alcabala was an exceedingly detrimental imposition for both commerce and industry and was modified somewhat during the reign of Charles III. The tercias reales were taxes levied on ecclesiastical estates and though they produced 60,000 pounds it was thought that they could produce considerably more if less faith were placed in the declaration of the ecclesiastic bureaus. A tax on the commoners of the kingdom known as ordinary and extraordinary service was a substitute cfor the alcabala and was assessed by the courts. Lastly there were the entry duties into Madrid which were a part of the crown revenue but were farmed out to the gremios. The provinces of the crown of Aragon were exempt from the alcabala but instead were to pay a fixed amount which was divided among the different cities and towns who assessed their inhabitants according to the amount they were required to pay. Aragon had the tercias reales

to improve the system by not active and sweeping reforms in this respect. The officials were to pay levies on wine, oil, meat, vinegar, candles, etc. This tax was either levied directly or by taking commodities which had these articles from a general store-house. In order to compel people to buy at these places very stringent and effective rules were adopted. The second provincial tax was known as the alcabala and also levied on all sales of personal or real property and amounting to fourteen per cent as a rule, but differing widely according to the town or district. According to Ustaris the average amount of the tax was seven per cent. The alcabala was an exceedingly detrimental imposition for both commerce and industry and was modified somewhat during the reign of Phillip III. The terlum reales were taxes levied on ecclesiastical estates and though they produced 60,000 pounds it was thought that they could produce considerably more if less faith were placed in the declarations of the ecclesiastic revenue. A tax on the consumers of the kingdom known as ordinary and extraordinary service was a substitute after the alcabala had was assessed by the cortes. Lastly there were the entry duties into Madrid which were a part of the cross revenue but were turned out to the premios. The provinces of the crown of Aragon were exempt from the alcabala but instead were to pay a fixed amount which was divided among the different cities and towns who assessed their inhabitants according to the amount they were required to pay. Aragon had the terlum reales

as well as the millones and all the provinces were subject to the cruzada, a tax originally levied for the crusades, and accepted in payment for indulgences. The pope had granted the income from this source to the Most Catholic Kings and in 1753 it was made a perpetual tax. The price of this bull was fixed at twenty-one quartos and in 1778 its revenue amounted to about 240,000 pounds.[1] No Spanish Catholic could avoid purchasing this dispensation without being suspected of heresy and besides that it gave him the right to eat eggs and drink milk on the days of fasting and during Lent, with the permission of his physician and confessor.[2] The clergy was subject to two other taxes known as the subsidio and the excusado which were farmed out to the gremios of Madrid and therefore produced much less revenue than they might have done otherwise.

One source of revenue which ought to have been very considerable and was only moderate was the income from America; but for a long time the expenses of government absorbed nearly all the revenue and it was not until Galvey's ministry that Mexico brought any returns as a result of the tobacco monopoly.

All the revenues of the kingdom amounted to 4,400,000 pounds in 1776, while in 1784 they were 6,850,680 pounds. In the statement made by Serena, the minister of finance, the revenues had falled to 6,162,950 pounds in 1787,[3] though it is

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 270.
2. Bourg., Vol. II, p. 20.
3. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 24.

as well as the milpas and all the previous were subject to the cruzada, a tax originally levied for the crusades, but accepted in payment for indulgences. The pope had granted the income from this source to the best catholic King and in 1753 it was made a perpetual tax. The price of this bull was fixed at twenty-one pesos and in 1770 its revenue amounted to about 340,000 pesos.[1] No Spanish Catholic could avoid purchasing this dispensation without being suspected of heresy and besides that it gave him the right to eat eggs and drink milk on the days of fasting and civil law, with the permission of his priests and confessor.[2] The clergy was subject to two other taxes known as the subsidio and the excusado which were levied out to the province of Madrid and therefore produced much less revenue than that might have done otherwise.

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1. Q. [illegible], Vol. VI, p. 270.
2. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 20.
3. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 24.

not safe to accept these statements since prior to 1787 no regular budget had been issued.and Serena was the first to issue a statement.

When Philip V died he left a debt of 7,500,000 pounds and Ferdinand VI assembled a body of ministers and ecclesiastics to decide as to whether he was liable for the debts of his father. This was decided negatively, and it was not until Charles came to the throng that any attempt to reimpurse the creditors was made. In 1762 he paid six per cent on the debts of Philip V and did so for five consecutive years. In 1767 the six per cent was reduced to four and the following year the king distributed 600,000 pounds among the crown's creditors ; but after 1769 the disastrous war against England caused the cessation of all further payments. Toward the end of Charles' reign the bills were offered for sale at twenty percent of their original value, though they were accepted in lieu of taxes at one time. Charles also attempted in 1783 to make a loan of 180 million reals and agreed to take the debts of Philip V at their par value ; but in spite of this apparent inducement he could raise only twelve million reals in two years.

The gremios of Madrid were the bankers of the government up to the time of the founding of the National Bank of San Carlos, received the constant support of the government and negotiated its loans in times of distress. But toward the end of the second war with England it was so difficult to obtain

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money from the Genoese and Dutch that Charles accepted the suggestion of several merchants and issued notes to the value of 19,800,000 pounds drawing four per cent interest and later redeemable in specie upon presentation at the national bank of San Carlos. The first issue of these treasury notes was made in 1780 followed by similar issues in 1781 and 1782. All the issues combined drew an interest of 3,599,244 pounds and this being promptly paid at all times, the notes took the place of paper currency. In 1785 and 1788 bonds were issued for the construction of the canal of Tausti and the completion of the Aragon canal. The total value of the bonds issued during the reign of Charles III was 5,489,055 pounds, drawing an annual interest of 219,562 pounds, usually four per cent.[1]

To maintain the value of this currency Charles III decreed the establishment of the Bank of St. Charles or San Carlos in the year 1782. Its other objects were to facilitate the construction of public works ; to discount foreign letters of exchange ; to pay the obligations incurred by the Spanish court at other courts and finally to undertake contracts for the supply of the army and navy.[2] Desiring that the people should become interested in so useful an enterprise, they were invited to subscribe in shares of 20 pounds each. In this way 145,140 pounds were raised out of the 3 millions of pounds which represented the bank's capital. The king and his chil-

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 267.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 272.

money from the Treasury and Dutch that Charles accepted the obligation of several notaries and issued bonds to the value of 15,000,000 pounds bearing four per cent interest and later redeemable in specie upon presentation at the national bank of San Carlos. The first issue of these treasury notes was made in 1780 followed by similar issues in 1781 and 1782. All the issues combined drew an interest of 3,594,744 pounds and this being promptly paid at all times, the notes took the place of paper currency. In 1781 and 1782 bonds were issued for the construction of the canal of Tarati and the completion of the Argon canal. The total value of the bonds issued during the reign of Charles III was 8,429,000 pounds, drawing an annual interest of 218,082 pounds, usually four per cent.[1]

To maintain the value of this currency Charles III decreed the establishment of the Banc of St. Charles or San Carlos in the year 1782. Its other objects were to facilitate the construction of public works; to direct foreign letters of exchange; to pay the obligations incurred by the Spanish court at other courts and finally to undertake contracts for the supply of the army and navy.[2] Doubting that the people should become interested in so useful an enterprise, they were invited to subscribe in shares of 20 pounds each. In this way 145,140 pounds were raised out of the 4 millions of pounds which capitalized the bank's capital. The King and his ministers

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 467.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 472.

dren subscribed liberally to the new enterprise as did many religious corporations and guilds. However, in spite of the general enthusiasm manifested for this creation of the Frenchman Cabarrus, the bank had many detractors, among whom Mirabeau was the most relentless. He made it his special business to crystallize a sentiment against this institution, but the first dividend of seven per cent, declared in 1784, silenced even the loudest opponents. Whatever the evils of this bank may have been from the point of view of the political economists, there can be no question about the services it rendered in saving the nation from financial ruin and the funds furnished by it for the various public works constituted a service which would have justified such an undertaking. Its intimate connection with the crown was the defect which really brought about its failure in the subsequent reign. But it could hardly be expected that it would be otherwise under a rule of absolutism. In 1786 the shares paid seven per cent interest in specie and in 1787 and 1788 five per cent in the same currency.

Florida Blanca, in his Statement, defends the establishment of the bank and tries to show how its foundation had prevented financial ruin. After reciting the depressing effect exercised by the repeated issues of bonds on the nation's credit, he says : "This was the situation of the monarchy and these were the imminent risks of a national bankruptcy, when I resolved to propose to Your Majesty the foundation of a bank, which while it obviated the total ruin of our

been subscribed liberally to the new enterprise as did many religious corporations and guilds. However, in spite of the general enthusiasm manifested for this creation of the French-man Cabarrus, the bank had many detractors, among whom Hirvera was the most relentless. He made it his special business to organize a sentiment against this institution, but the first dividend of seven per cent, declared in 1784, silenced even the loudest opposers. Whatever the evils of this bank may have been from the point of view of the political economists, there can be no question about the services it rendered in saving the nation from financial ruin and the Turks furnished by it for the various public works constituted a service which would have justified much so unfortunate. Its intimate connection with the crown was the cause of M. de Calonne's downfall because its failure in the subsequent crisis. Its [illegible] exposed that it would be otherwise under a rule of absolutism. In 1785 the shares paid seven per cent interest in specie and in 1787 and 1788 five per cent in the same currency.

Viorica Tiercy, in his Statement, defends the establishment of the bank and tries to show how its foundation had prevented financial ruin. After relating the depressing effect exercised by the repeated issues of bonds on the nation's credit, he says : "This was the situation of the country and there was the imminent ruin of a national bankruptcy, when I resolved to propose to Your Majesty the formation of a bank, which while it obviated the total ruin of our

credit, might facilitate commercial operations in general, particularly those of Spain, as is done in England, Holland and other countries conscious of their own interest."

[1]To procure the increase in revenue Charles III initiated the following reforms : he began by reducing public expenditures and salaries in Spain and America ; he exacted a payment of eight per cent on all monastic incomes ; he also requested gifts from the Church and borrowed money from the archbishops and bishops. Charles also made loans in foreign countries and issued the bonds mentioned above. The sale of gold in bars to Holland and the establishment of the royal lottery in America and Spain were also sources of considerable revenue. The tobacco revenue in Mexico and Peru and the tax on civil incomes were methods by which the colonies were made to bring some returns. Fortunes brought from America to Spain were taxed heavily and to pay the debts of his father, Charles set aside the revenues from various ecclesiastic benefices and also those from the crown estates.

Florida Blanca, in his Statement, describes at some length the evils of the tax known as the bolla and the plomos de Ramos, which was a very high tax levied on all cloth sold in Catalonia. It took the place of the alcabala of Castile and was absurd in its complicated method of administration. When a merchant or a manufacturer sold a piece of cloth, no

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 270.

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1. O. c., Vol. VI, p. 270.

matter how small, he was compelled to call a tax collector who stamped or sealed the remaining roll of cloth and then collected fifteen per cent on the price of sale. To replace this irritating tax Florida Blanca regulated the customs duties so that all the provinces had the same tariff and made it so as to afford protedtion to domestic industries, withdrawing the favors which certain nations, especially England and Holland, enjoyed. By these changes Florida Blanca claimed that not only the industries and agriculture greatly benefited but also that the customs revenues had risen from 600,000 pounds to 1,300,000 pounds. The same chapter of the Statement also contains a reference to a change in the tariff for export, but nothing seems to have been done in this respect.

The first step[1] taken toward the diminution of the Alcabala and cientos was the removal of this imposition on manufactures sold at the factory and a reduction of two per cent on all other sales made in Madrid, though Florida Blanca desired Charles to extend this change to the entire kingdom. In the places where the poor were accustomed to buy their provisions, the alcabala was reduced from fourteen per cent to eight percent in Andalusia and to five per cent in Castile. Florida thought that this reduction would not only greatly benefit the industries and commerce, but also increase the revenues since it would not exasperate the people to such a

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degree that they would buy as little as they could get along with. He also proposed an equivalent tax as had been advocated in the reign of Ferdinand VI. The alcabala for the peasants was reduced to two, th ee or four per cent according to the quality of their provisions and the alcabala on wheat was removed entirely. The taxes known as millones also received a considerable reduction, so that wine, meat, vinegar and oil became considerably cheaper. Special reductions were made in the tax on oil since it was used very generally as a staple food and because it was necessary to the manufacturers. To compensate for these reductions made for the benefit of the poorer classes, a tax was levied on private incomes and though amounting to only five per cent it excited the opposition of the proprietary who seemed previously to have escaped the exactions of the alcabala tax. The argu ent used against this imposition was that it was new, but Florida Blanca declared that it was only a step toward the unica contribucion which had been projected during the reign of his brother and that it was practically like the equivalent tax of Catalonia, although the octroi and the reduced bolla still existed there. The octrois of Barcelona, Gironna and Valencia were fixed at eight per cent. The king had a right to impose the alcabala and cientos which amounted to fourteen per cent on all sales and also the millones and the income tax was only a shifting of the burden from the poor to the wealthier classes. Florida Blanca says on the subject of this revenue tax : "There was no

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proprietor of a civil income who did not have to contribute, either directly or indirectly, to the above named alcabalas and cientos, at the time of their imposition, when he bought merchandise in the markets. If then the proprietors of the civil revenues do not pay the nine per cent from which the provisions, subject to the millones, were exempted in the Castiles and Andalusia, how could they have been burdened by the establishment of an equivalent tax of five per cent on the incomes, which neither the tax payers of the poorer classes nor the consumers possess ? In the same way the alcabala on manufactures having been reduced to two, three or four per cent, would increase the revenue of the proprietor in a like ratio because of the consequent cheapness of the manufactures and agricultural products." In his Statement Florida Blanca shows how the taxes had really been diminished even for the proprietors, for, says he, : "Is there a new tax when instead of the fourteen per cent of the alcabala which your majesty would have a right to demand imposes only seven, eight, nine or ten by distributing this tax between the peasants and the proprietors ; between the sellers and the purchasers ; between the poor and the rich according to their respective means ? And yet all the complaints are founded on that fact. The objection is only raised against this tax on account of its newness. Since this five percent has been added to the two, three, four, five and even seven per cent, with which some sales

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sales, which are very few, are charged, that tax has never risen to fourteen per cent which your majesty would generally have a right to impose. For most of the products of manufacture and agriculture this contribution does not rise above six, or at the most above seven pertent, divided, as I have said, among the proprietors, the peasants, the rich and the poor, although the latter are not so heavily burdened because they possess little property and because they contribute everything from their labor." The tax on those proprietors who live on their estates, instead of living at the capitals, was reduced to two and one half per cent in order to encourage industry with that class.

From the Statement made by Florida Blanca it can be easily seen that the proprietors had until the establishment of the income tax escaped the oppressive alcabala and millones and that their opposition to the lower income tax was because of the shifting of the burden onto their shoulders. The peasants and poorer citizens were compelled to buy their provisions at the public market and therefore could not escape the tax, while the wealthy proprietor either produced his own necessaries or traded with his tenants who were quite as eager as he was to escape the exactions of the tax collectors.

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The cost of maintaining the Consejo de Hacienda was enormous and the single pale de unos contribution, though it had achieved no definite result, consumed 800,000 pounds an-

nually in salaries and administrative expenses. Although Charles III and his ministers realized the great evil of the system of taxation and seem to have recognized the true cause of its inefficiency, the reforms that were instituted were rather half-hearted and narrow. Nevertheless the trend of the fiscal policy was changed and broke down at least part of the insurmountable barriers to prosperity in the industries and commerce.

The expenditures of Spain[1] increased in a measure proportional to her economic development. During the reign of Philip they amounted to about 3,359,529 pounds ; to 3,779,183 in the reign of Ferdinand VI ; and in 1788, the last year of Charles' reign, they rose to a grand total of 8,161,713 pounds. According to Canga-Arguelles the expenditures which were 1,342,275 pounds during the reign of Philip III rose to 27,297,991 pounds during the reign of Charles III. The expenditures of the last year of the reign of Charles III consisted of the following items :-- Royal household, 747,621 pounds ; secretaries of state, 82,444 pounds ; councils and tribunals, 1,879,830 pounds ; pensions, 32,935 pounds ; embassadors and ministers, 85,720 pounds ; rewards, 52,258 pounds ; secret expenditures, 46,208 pounds ; extraordinary expenses of the treasury, 440,833 pounds ; paymasters of the treasury, 352,633 pounds ; debts of Philip V, 6,187 pounds ; army, ,

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p

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1. D. y G., Vol. VI,

3,414,380 pounds ; intendants and commissioners, 44,445 pounds; charity, 48,100 pounds ; navy, 2,000,000 pounds ; loan banks, 64,718 pounds ; interest on bonds, 575,466 pounds ; interest on other debts, 430,619 pounds ; making the above named total of 8,611,717 pounds, out of which 5,414,380 pounds were used for the army and navy. The most important items of expense are, the public debt, the royal household expenses and the army and navy. Charles tried hard to reduce the cost of maintaining his court and established a junta to see that the amount should not increase.

The necessities of war compelled Charles III to increase his army to a considerable extent. The number of militia regiments was raised to forty-two and various companies of urban militia were maintained. Charles III passed various ordinances for the improvement of the army ; discipline was restored and the army was placed on a respectable footing. The creation of schools of infantry, artillery, cavalry and the engineer corps was a good proof of the interest Charles felt for his army.

[1]After the peace which followed the disastrous war of 1761, Spain had only about thirty-seven vessels of the line and about thirty frigates. In 1770 there were fifty-one ships, ranging from ii2 to 58 guns ; twenty-two frigates besides a number of smaller vessels, making one hundred and two vessels

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1. Muriel, Vol. VI, p. 141.

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1. Merial, Vol. VI, p. 141.

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The finances of Spain during the reign of Charles III were hampered by the excessive burdens of the army and navy and though the ministers of this reign tried to improve fiscal conditions their remedies seem to have been only temporary and were in most cases applied rather timidly.

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CHAPTER VII.

COMMERCE AND COLONIES.

Until the reign of Charles III the restrictions on trade and commerce were practically prohibitive and as a result it was either carried on as a monopoly or by smugglers. As early as 1760 Charles and his ministers began to devise projects by which they hoped to promote the commerce of Spain with Algiers, Tunis, the Levant and America.[1] Departing from the principle of exaggerated protection initiated by Philip V Charles removed the duty on many foreign manufactures, cocoa and sugar, and reimposed them only in order to defray the expenses of the war with Great Britain. In 1760 he also made a commercial treaty with England so that foreign commerce might be put on a more advantageous basis. The vacillating policy which Charles was following in these commercial reforms was more apparent when in 1764 he prohibited absolutely the exportation of silk called cabezas.[2] Then again a year later he reverted to his original plan and proclaimed the abolition of internal customs duties on grain, so that it might be transported from one province to another without an exorbitant tax which made exportation so expensive that one province would

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 245.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 246.

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 246.
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suffer absolute want while a neighboring one had more food products than were needed for home consumption.[1] The evils of this system were inestimable and it seems as if almost any other country but Spain would have been ruined under so great a burden. At the time of the abolition of this tax the advantages of this reform were slow to be felt for the means of transportation were confined to beasts of burden and the roads and canals had not yet experienced the salutary measures of Florida Blanca. In the same year of 1765 Charles reaffirmed the law passed by Ferdinand VI by which he forbade the exportation of rags as being injurious to the paper industry and also established so-called free trade between the island of Cuba, the Windward Islands, and Spain.[2] In 1767 a royal decree was issued which proclaimed internal free trade in all necessaries of life.[3] "Since then, the liberty of internal commerce was a principle constantly guarded in Spain, in harmony with the doctrine upheld with respect to liberty of agriculture and of industry."[4]

External commerce was the subject of profound study on the part of Florida Blanca and the Marquis de Senora and in the year 1778 free trade with the colonies was declared ; though as early as 1764 Charles had attacked the monopoly of the galleons by establishing a regular line of vessels leaving

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1. Muriel, Vol. VI, p. 143.
2. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 247.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

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1. Muriel, Vol. VI, p. 145.
2. D. y G., Vol. VI, p. 217.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

Corunna for Cuba and Porto Rico at intervals of one month. This decree of 1778 was called "Ordinance on the free commerce with the colonies" but the term 'free' was only a relative one, for the freedom consisted only in allowing the courts of Seville, Cartagena, Alicanti, Barcelona, Corunna and Gijon to carry on trade with the Indies of which Cadiz until then had had the monopoly. The same decree destroyed the monopoly of the galleons and treasure fleets so that in the same year of 1778 Cadiz sent out 68 vessels, Corunna 26, Barcelona 23, Malaga 34, Santander 13 and Alicanti 13, of a total value of 500,000 pounds.[1] A little later the privilege of trading with the colonies was extended to the rest of the Spanish ports with the exception of the Basque provinces and Biscay which preferred to retain their old privileges and the profits of an interloping trade to those of a regular commerce.[2] New Spain did not enjoy these trade privileges until 1786 and the amount of merchandise which could then be sent there was not to exceed six thousand tons. The good effects of this ordinance were far reaching and were quickly felt. In less than ten years the exportation of foreign merchandise had been trebled and domestic exportation had increased to five times its former dimensions.[3] The importations into America increased from 160,000 to nearly 3,000,000 pounds and the exportations to

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1. Muriel, Vol. VI, p. 170.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 168?
3. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 169.

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1. Moral, Vol. VI, p. 170.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 166.
3. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 169.

Europe from 620,000 to 8,000,000.[1] All the maratime provinces of Spain were greatly benefited by this law and commerce received a great impetus. Catalonia became very prosperous because of these privileges and its present commercial supremacy dates from 1778, Louisiana, Florida and Trinidad were given special trade privileges and consequently experienced considerable prosperity in their industries and commerce. Mexico was placed on a better economic footing by receiving a market for tobacco, wheat and sugar cane, while Buenos Ayres exported salt-cod and wheat to Spain, thus procuring not only a good market but also giving the Spaniards an opportunity to free themselves from the humiliating dependency upon the English for their great staple fish-food. The law forbidding foreigners trading with the Indies to come within twenty leagues of the peninsula was repealed by Charles. One great disadvantage under which the Spaniards labored in their struggle for commercial prosperity was the scarcity of good sailors so that much of the carrying trade was in the hands of foreigners.

One of the principal reasons for the establishment of free trade with colonies was the desire on the part of Charles and his ministers to encourage the exportation of the home manufactures and it was for this purpose that various woolen and cotton goods were exempted from duties for ten years,

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1. Muriel, Vol. VI, p. 171.

Europe from 650,000 to 5,000,000. All the maritime provinces of Spain were greatly benefited by this law and commerce received a great impetus. Catalonia became very prosperous because of these privileges and its present commercial supremacy dates from 1778. Louisiana, Florida and Trinidad were given special trade privileges and consequently experienced considerable prosperity in their industries and commerce. Mexico was placed on a better economic footing by providing a market for tobacco, wheat and sugar cane, while Buenos Aires exported salt-cod and wheat to Spain, thus producing not only a good revenue but also giving the Spaniards an opportunity to free themselves from the humiliating dependence upon the English for their great staple fish-food. The law forbidding foreigners trading with the Indies to come within twenty leagues of the peninsula was repealed by Charles. One great disadvantage under which the Spanish labored in their struggle for commercial prosperity was the moral, if good sailors so that much of the carrying trade was in the hands of foreigners.

One of the principal reasons for the establishment of free trade with colonies was the desire on the part of Charles and his ministers to encourage the exportation of the home manufactures and it was for this purpose that woolen and cotton goods were exempted from duties for ten years,

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1. Merriam, Vol. VI, p. 171.

while foreign manufactures, wines, oil and brandy were excluded from the Indies.[1] The same ordinance decreed that all vessels loaded entirely with domestic products should be exempted from one third of the export duty and all colonial products as cotton, sugar, cochineal, indigo, coffee, copper and quinine were to be entirely free from export duty.[2] Gold was taxed five per cent and silver ten, which rate was later reduced to two and five and one-half per cent respectively. The exportation of gold in any form and silver in bars, as well as threaded cotton and building wood to foreign countries was absolutely forbidden. The absurd customs duties, levied according to the size of the article, were abolished and an ad valorem tax was fixed.[3]

The main objections raised by opponents of free trade with the colonies were dictated by self-interest and came mainly from Cadiz which had been shorn of the monopoly. It was argued that the contraband trade had increased under the new system and that it was cheaper for a foreign nation to trade with colonies than it was for Spain since the rpofits of the contraband trade were so great as to make almost any risk preferable to legitimate trade ; but since the revenues from the customs duties were doubled this argument had very little weight.[4] Still the contraband trade was a great obstacle to

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1. Bourg., Vol. II, p. 195.
2. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 195.
3. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 197.
4. F. B., Statement.

while foreign manufactures, wines, oil and bread, were excluded from the Indies.[1] The same ordinance decreed that all vessels loaded entirely with commercial products should be exempted from one third of the export duty and all colonial products as cotton, sugar, cochineal, indigo, coffee, copper and quinine were to be entirely free from export duty.[2] Gold was taxed five per cent and silver ten, which rate was later reduced to two and five and one-half per cent respectively. The exportation of gold in any form and silver in bars, as well as threaded cotton and building wood to foreign countries was absolutely forbidden. The strong national duties, levied according to the size of the pieces, were abolished and an ad valorem tax was fixed.[3]

The main objections raised by opponents of free trade with the colonies were related by self-interest and some [illegible] that which had been short of the monopoly. It was argued that the contraband trade had increased under the new system and that it was cheaper for a foreign nation to trade with colonies than it was for Spain since the profits of the contraband trade were so great as to make almost any risk preferable to legitimate trade ; but since the revenues from the customs duties were doubled this argument had very little weight.[4] Still the contraband trade was a great obstacle to

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1. Duro., Vol. II, p. 193.
2. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 198.
3. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 187.
4. F. B., Statement.

making the colonies a reliable source of revenue. The high duties levied on foreign goods toward the latter part of Charles' reign gave foreigners so great an advantage that the Spaniards could in no way compete with them in supplying the colonies. It was absolutely impossible to guard the coast of so vast a possession as the Spaniards had in America and Bourgoing figured that the Spaniards paid twenty-eight per cent duty on foreign articles before selling them to the colonies, while the foreigner paid about dfour per cent export and four per cent insurance premium against risks.[1] This gave the foreigner an advantage of twenty-two per cent so that it was quite natural that the colonists should prefer to trade with them. The islands along the American coast were used as entrepots for contraband goods and this illicit trade was carried on as much by the colonists as by foreigners.

The colonies both in America and in India were under the control of the Council of the Indies, which was chosen by the king and divided into administrative and judicial chambers as was the Council of Castile. The Marquis of Senora was at the head of this council during Florida Blanca's administration and it was he who first proposed the plan of granting free trade with colonies. He had previously been vice-roy of Mexico and his experience there gave him an insight into the needs of the colonies. Curiously enough Mexico was the last

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1. Bourg., Vol. II, p. 209.

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1. Bourg., Vol. II, p. 203.

of the provinces in America to receive free trade in 1786 and then restrictions were placed on the trade so that only six thousand tons of merchandise were allowed to enter that country each year.[1]

Charles' policy, in all matters affecting commerce, was rather for promotion of industrial prosperity than for commerce proper. The duties imposed on foreign goods show a desire to build up a market in the colonies for Spanish products. The king and his ministers seemed to have forgotten that since most of the merchandise had to be brought from other countries because it was not manufactured at all in Spain a tax of six per cent would have placed the Spaniard on about an equal footing with the interloping foreigner. In looking at the ordinances and decrees of Charles we can find only two which purposed to advance commerce at the apparent expense of industries. Those were the decree of 1765 for internal free trade and possibly the one of 1778 proclaiming free trade with the Indies and particularly in the concessions made to Florida and Louisiana. Trade with other European nations was if anything discouraged since it was thought that the only things Spain could receive were manufactured goods in place of their raw materials, as wool and hemp. Both export and import taxes were charged and formalities attendant upon customs regulations were extremely burdensome. Bourgoing says that

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1. Bourg., Vol. II, p. 218.

of the provinces in America to receive free trade in 1778 and then restrictions were placed on the trade so that only six thousand tons of merchandise were allowed to enter Lima each year.[1]

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1. Dunn., Vol. II, p. 318.

"it is above all in respect to foreign commerce that Spain plays an inactive part."[1] He excepts Barcelona in this judgment of Spanish commercial activity, saying that its exports consisted mainly of silk, cloth, cotton, wines and brandies and its greatest article of import was the salt-cod which the English caught off the Newfoundland coast. The English received more than three million pounds annually for this commerce, although various attempts to substitute this fish with some other kind had been made. The French writer remarks on the singularity of a heretic nation supplying a Catholic nation with the article of food which was generally prepared with salt taken from Spain and caught in waters first discovered by the Spaniards.[2]

The slave-trade which had been granted as a monopoly to the English by the treaty of Utrecht was given to a Spanish company when that monopoly expired. This Spanish company had its entrepot at Porto Rico and when in 1780 its franchise came to an end the government of Spain undertook to carry on this trade itself. For that purpose it acquired from Portugal the two islands of Ferdinando Po and Annobon when the treaty of peace was made in 1778. Bourgoing says that these islands were poorly situated for this traffic and that the Spaniards did not possess the proper vessels for carrying slaves, nor did they have surgeons who understood the diseases of the negro.[3]

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1. Bourg., Vol. II, p. 173.
2. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 175.
3. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 249.

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1. Bourg., Vol. II, p. 172.
2. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 173.
3. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 248.

Later contracts were let to foreigners to furnish a certain number of slaves annually so that the colonies might receive an adequate supply.

Various commercial companies had been founded prior to Charles' reign and as a rule were short-lived. The most famous of these, devoted to European commerce, were those of Aragon, Saragossa, Granada, Sevilla, Toledo and Burgos, all of which had become extinct as early as 1784.[1] The gremios or guilds had at first received all concessions in the way of commercial monopolies, but with the formation of the Caraccas company their influence decreased. Campomanes and Jovellanos attacked these corporations and in that way caused the monopoly of trade with the Indies to be taken from the Cinco gremios mayores, the most profitable guilds in Spain.[2] The Caraccas company was founded in 1728 and in 1762 had 12 large trading vessels, 19 ships to guard the coasts and employed 2800 seamen. But its lack of judgment in importing too much cocoa from 1770 to 1774 reduced its profits to a large degree and when in 1780 Rodney captured one of its treasure-ships it received a blow from which it never recovered.

The formation of a Philippine company had been proposed as early as 1733, but the distance and dangers of a sea voyage to these islands prevented the plans from meeting with any degree of success. In 1767 Musquiez, the minister of

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1. Colmeiro, Vol. II, p. 457.
2. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 242.

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Various commercial companies had been formed prior to Charles' reign and as a rule were short-lived. The most famous of these, devoted to European commerce, were those of Aragon, Barcelona, Granada, Seville, Toledo and Burgos, all of which had become extinct entirely as 1784.[1] The premier organizing act at first received all concessions in the way of commercial monopolies, but with the formation of the Caracas company their influence decreased. Campomanes and Jovellanos attacked these corporations and in that way caused the monopoly of trade with the Indies to be taken from the Cinco gremios mayores, the most profitable guilds in Spain.[2] The Caracas company was founded in 1728 and in 1752 had 12 large trading vessels, in addition to guard the coasts and employed 2800 seamen. But its lack of judgment in importing too much cocoa from 1770 to 1774 reduced its profits to a large degree and when in 1780 Rodney captured one of its treasure-ships it received a blow from which it never recovered.

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1. Colmeiro, Vol. II, p. 427.
2. D. y C., Vol. II, p. 742.

finance, conceived the project of founding a company composed of Frenchmen and Spaniards and Choiseul thought he might combine this company with his East India Company and therefore encouraged its foundation.[1] But this first plan failed and was only revived in 1783, by d'Estaing and the Prince of Nassau-Siegen who having visited the Philippines on a trip around the world proposed to found a post for trade with China there a and he offered to subjugate the Moro pirates who were costing the Spaniards 20,000 pounds annually.[2] This proposition was coldly received by the Spaniards and then abandoned. The matter was, however, brought up again in 1784 when a junta presided over by Galvey, the Marquis of Senora, was appointed to found a Philippine trading company. It was proposed that the capital should be 8,000,000 dollars of which the Bank of San Carlos was to take one sixth. Cabarrus, the founder of that bank, was the one who procured the necessary funds and he divided the capital into 32,000 shares of 250 dollars each. The king and his family invested large sums in the new enterprise and great enthusiasm was manifested by the merchants of Madrid and other cities. The Cinco Gremios of Madrid, who had controlled this trade previously opposed the new company and refused to take any of its shares, but hurriedly sent out a ship of their own. Unfavorable weather compelled it to return and the ship and cargo were finally sold to the company.

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1. Bourg., Vol. II, p. 256.
2. Ibid.

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1. Source, Vol. II, p. 252.
2. Ibid.

The sailing route was changed so that the vessels returned by way of the Cape of Good Hope instead of Cape Horn as had heretofore been the custom. The Dutch tried to prevent this but Florida Blanca gained his point through diplomatic channels and considers this advantage worthy of mention in his celebrated Statement.[1] The first vessel which was sent out had been loaded with tea and muslin and the cargo did not sell for many years. Two vessels returned to Cadiz in 1787 and the profits of the trip amounted to more than fifty per cent. The company continued with varying success until the year 1803 when it was reorganized, but was finally abolished in 1834.[2] Mirabeau attacked the founders of the Philippine Company with all his well known ardor and his books on the subject of the national bank of San Carlos and this company were prohibited in Spain by a royal decree of July 9, 1785.[3] Whatever evils this company may have represented to the economist, there can be no doubt that by its foundation new fields for commerce were opened to the Spaniards and the possessions in the far East came into closer touch with the metropolis.

Commerce was regulated by various commercial ordinances based on the Ordenanzas de Bilbao. In 1782, in the same decree establishing the bank of San Carlos, the endorsement of drafts was regulated so that a proper and efficient

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1. F. B., Statement.
2. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 278.
3. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 279.

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1. Y. B., Statement.
2. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 276.
3. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 279.

system of credit was established.[1] A royal decree of June 22, 1773, provided for the election of deputies of commerce who were to draw up lists of merchants in their towns and also report all vagrants. A decree of December 24, 1774, required that all books should be kept in Spanish.[2] The circular of February 3, 1787, commanded all lookouts and watchmen to notify the nearest military garrison in case of a wreck so that only those engaged in life-saving could approach the wrecked vessel, thus preventing the plundering of wreckage. All these acts were later united into a code of commerce, which became quite celebrated throughout Europe.[3]

The commercial marine experienced a considerable increase and according to Coxe the number of vessels which entered Cadiz during the six years ending in 1776 was 984, and had increased to 1,867 in the same term of years ending in 1788. In Alicanti the number had risen from 722 to 2,187 ; in Malaga from 641 to 1,059 and in Barcelona from 401 to 749.[4]

In surveying the changes made for the benefit of commerce during the reign of Charles III, it is necessary to remember the heavy burdens which had been imposed by his predecessors and that that which seemed like emancipation of trade for those times would now be considered equal to a very high protective system.

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 541.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 542.
3. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 542.
4. Coxe, 2nd append.

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1. D. C., Vol. VI, p. 541.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 542.
3. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 544.
4. Coxe, Spd Appeal.

CHAPTER VIII.

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS AND CHARITIES.

The Bourbon dynasty[1] perceived the necessity of reforming the system of education prevalent in Spain at the beginning of the eighteenth century and such men as Macanaz, Campillo and Ensenada were the first to attack the system and to institute reforms. The benedictine monk, Feijoo, from the obscurity of his cell attacked the vices which had taken root in all institutions of learning and though prosecuted by the clergy, through the Inquisition, he paved the way for the sweeping reforms made by Charles III.

Instruction[2] was divided into, primary, secondary and superior branches. The Church controlled all education until the formation of the brotherhood or Hermanidad of San Casiano which examined all candidates for teaching in primary schools and in that way the clergy was deprived of some influence in this branch. In 1743 Philip V conceded the same privileges to those teachers as were enjoyed by the masters of the liberal arts and confirmed the privilege of the Hermanidad to examine candidates and to appoint inspectors to visit the different schools.

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 289.
2. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 290. All the decrees and edicts are taken from the same work.

CHAPTER VIII.

FUNCTIONAL STRUCTURE AND CHARACTER.

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1. B. y O., Vol. VI, p. 289.
2. B. y O., Vol. VI, p. 290. All the decrees and edicts are taken from the same work.

In the franchise given to the towns of the Sierra Morena in Chapter seventy-four it is stated "that all the children must attend grammar school and that one of these should be established in each district for the different towns in it." The school was to be situated near a church and the Council of Castile declared in a decree of June 11, 1771 that "the education of the youth by grammar school teachers is one and ever the principal branch of the administration of the government of the state."[1] All candidates for teaching were examined by the San Casiano brotherhood. The teachers of girls had to be examined on questions of doctrine by an ecclesiastic board. The text-books used in the primary schools were decreed by the Council and on December 22, 1780 the same body abolished the brotherhood of San Casiano and in its place created an academic college with the object "to promote the perfect education of the youth and instruction in the rudiments of the Catholic faith throughout the kingdom ; also the rules for working, the exercise of virtue and the noble art of reading, writing and figuring ; to cultivate men from their infancy to the first steps in their intelligance until they have grown capable of progress in virtue, sciences and the arts ; the preservation and increase of religion and the more interesting branch of the civil and economic government

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 292.

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 292.

of the state." The Collegio Academico, a sort of normal school, was established by a decree of the Council and no teacher could obtain a position unless he had graduated from this institution or from one of its twenty-four branches. No school was to be under the same roof with a tavern, not even if there was a separate entrance. Teachers had also to study grammar and orthography in the Royal Academy of the Language and the read and learn the Christian doctrines. No person was allowed to teach who could not prove the purity of his blood and and show that he had good habits and had led a decent life. By the royal decree of May 11, 1783 were established in Madrid three schools for girls. It also recommended the establishment of such schools in the larger cities of the kingdom. From these various decrees it can be seen that Charles III laid great stress on primary education and as late as May 15, 1788 he issued a decree charging his Corregidors to see that the teachers in primary schools should discharge their duties as provided for by the decrees.

Secondary instruction[1] was directed more toward educating and strengthening the body and the mind than toward instruction and the course of studies was confused with primary education and higher education, being supposed to represent a sort of intermediary course in preparation for a career. It generally comprised Latin and philosophy and often embraced

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 294.

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 244.

subjects taught by the faculty of Arts. There were as many Latin as grammar schools and Philip IV and later Ferdinand VI confined the former to towns having corregidors, intendants or alcaldes majores. In the decree of January 19, 1770 Charles III organized secondary education in Spain. He gave the Jesuit college in Madrid, known as Collegio Imperial, to the institution known as Reales estudios de San Isidoro, founded by Philip IV in 1625 and he reestablished the chairs of Latin, poetry, rhetoric, Greek, Oriental languages, mathematics, philosophy, natural law and ecclesiastic discipline. This school had a director who assigned the duties to the various masters, but he could make no change in the courses of instruction without consulting the faculty. To attain the highest possible perfection there were to take place competitive examinations within six months, at which the competitors were to offer three public exercises before four examiners and two ministers of the Council, who would grade the contestants according to merit and submit their decisions to the Council who would then recommend to the king the appointments for certain chairs. The Council controlled the faculty of San Isidoro and passed upon all appointments and courses of instruction.

Charles III also tried to interest the clergy in this revival of education and in a decree of August 14, 1768 he commanded the Council of Trent to build seminaries in all of the large towns and cities. The convents vacated by the expulsion of their orders were generally turned into schools and

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Charles III also tried to interest the clergy in the revival of education and in a decree of August 14, 1768 he commended the Council of Trent to build seminaries in all of the large towns and cities. The convents vacated by the expulsion of their orders were generally turned into schools and

seminaries and certain taxes were set aside to pay the salaries of the professors. If the seminaries were to be for the secular clergy they were to be controlled by the archbishops and bishops, under royal patronage ; but under no circumstances were they to be under control of the orders. All directors were to be appointed by the king upon recommendation of the Camara and the prelates. The chairs were to be assigned by competition under the supervision of the diocesans. Grammar, rhetoric, geometry and arts, being necessary and indispensible to all classes of youth, were taught in these schools. The bishoprics were under the control of the imperial government, but the Council decided all questions of policy.

By the expulsion of the Jesuits, Spain lost her most efficient body of educators and in order to replace them the seminary of Cindad Rodrigo was founded in 1769, but was incorporated with the University of Salamanca in 1777. In 1771 D. Fray Alonso Cann founded the seminary of Segorbe which was later incorporated into the University of Valencia. The bishop D. Juan de Luelmo founded in Logrono in 1776 the seminary of Calahorra, taking the college abandoned by the Jesuits. Many more such seminaries were founded, encouraged by the support given by the crown and the clergy.

Around the various universities had grown up a large number of large and small colleges which were of greatest importance in the Spanish educational system. Of these colleges those known as collegios majores were the most famous

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Around the various universities had grown up a large number of large and small colleges which were of greatest importance in the Spanish educational system. Of these colleges those known as collegios mayores were the most famous

and most influential. There was one of these colleges at Salamanca ; one at Oviedo ; one at Santiago ; one at Valadolid ; one at Cuenca and one at Alcala all of which were founded during the fifteenth or early in the sixteenth century. These colleges had absolute autonomy and the most deep seated abuses had in consequence arisen. The favoritism shown without regard to merit and the dissensions which arose caused Charles III to appoint Sr. Perez Bayer to inspect these colleges to report on the abuses and suggest reforms therefor. By royal decrees of February 15 and 22, 1771, Charles declared that taking account of the decadence, which had been going on for more than a century in the universities and colleges, especially the majores, and to reestablish their old standards, their constitutions should be revised, especially with regard to those causes on the subject of prohibition of gambling and residence in the colleges. He also forbade the admission of anyone to a fellowship without special permission of the body of fellows, nor should anyone be treated as a fellow even if he had spent seven or eight years in college. The crown was to administer the income of all the colleges and Charles III appointed regular inspectors to watch the colleges. In the decrees of February 12 and April 12, 1777, the requirements for honors were indicated. Of these purity of blood was the most important, but the awarding of fellowships was to be impartial and fair to rich and poor alike. A collegiate term was not to be longer than eight years under any circumstances and the students

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of the collegios majores were to be under the same rules as those governing the rest of the university. The defenders of the collegiales majores tried to influence the king through his confessor, Fr. Joaquin Eleta, but his influence did not shake the former's resolution and as the fellowships of many of the colleges expired they were filled with students nominated by the king. By a provision of the Council of May 23, 1767 it was forbidden to teach the doctrines of regicide and tyrannicide against legitimate rulers. Various decrees were issued from 1768 to 1771 which prohibited the methods of the so-called Jesuit school and the use of its books for purposes of instruction. A royal decree of March 14, 1769 provided that the director of each university should be a member of the Council of Castile and that he should follow the "Instruccion" in all matters. The decree of September 6, 1776 forbade the discussion of the privileges of the Crown and a censor was appointed to enforce this rule. In 1784 the censors were told to watch that no utterances against either religion or the king should be made.

The University of Salamanca had always enjoyed special privileges ; but the decrees of 1770 and 1771 defined its jurisdiction and provided that the rectors and councillors of the university should be elected biennially. By the degree of September 20, 1771 the obligation to take the oath of "Obiendi Rectori in licitis et honestis" was imposed on all matriculated students. All students in colleges and seminaries were subject to all the laws, rules and regulations of the

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Council of Castile and had to be regularly matriculated. According to a decree of November 8, 1770, the clergy could receive their bachelor's degree by taking courses in their convents ; but, having abused this concession, it was ordered on March 11, 1771, that the courses taken in seminaries, colleges or convents under the control of the clergy would not count toward any degree. The hours of study were regulated in a degree of August 3, 1771 as were also the courses of study at the University of Salamanca in 1786. The simultaneity of courses was prohibited by a decree in 1772 and by another decree of the same year no credit was to be given unless the student had renewed his matriculation each year. According to a decree of March 5, 1773, bachelors of arts trying for a higher degree had to assist the various chairs in teaching and the duration of the collegiate year was fixed by royal decree on November 18, 1785. It was to last from October 18, to the day of San Juan in June. The courses of science, mathematics, philosophy, physics and other subjects as given in the seminary of the nobles at Madrid, Vergara, Valencia and San Isidoro were to be accepted by all the universities, according to a decree issued in 1785. By means of these numerous decrees, Charles III tried to build up a system of national education and he succeeded in at least rooting out many of the worst evils.

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in the universities. The study of surgery received special attention on the part of Charles III and in 1783 he established a royal college of surgery at Madrid, under the immediate protection of the Council and independent of the Tribunato Protomedicato and of the Junta of hospitals. In a royal decree of February 24, 1787, the qualifications for graduation were fixed. There was a constant desire to draw up a plan for the general control of the universities and D. Pablo de Olavide submitted plans of reform to the University of Seville. No general plan was adopted, though in 1770 it was proposed that each university should outline a course of instruction. Though these attempts to establish a system seem to have failed, a Spanish author rightly says that : "The impulse was undoubtedly given and the same universities of Salamanca, Alcala, Granada, and Valencia, made notable improvements in their courses of study and ended by placing themselves at the head of that intellectual movement and progress, which constituted the most glorious achievement of the reign of Charles."[1]

Prior to the reforms instituted by Charles, the educational system of Spain was unquestionably as bad as a couple of centuries of abuse could make it.

Don Leucada Doblado gives an excellent account of conditions then existing in Spain.[2] The methods employed were said to have been worthy of the thirteenth century. The study

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of Aristotelian philosophy was forbidden and instead of that the inductive method of Bacon was taught. Three years of attendance in schools of logic, natural philosophy and metaphysics was the only requisite for a master's degree. Each university had three or four professors of divinity and as many for the courses in civil and canon law and medicine. The six great colleges, or collegios majores formed the literary aristocracy ; for none but those of untainted noble blood were elected to their fellowships. In order to insure against mistakes, one of the fellows went to the birthplaces of the parents and grandparents of the elected member and examined, on oath, from fifteen to thirty witnesses who had to swear that the ancestor of the candidate had never been a menial servant, shop-keeper, a petty tradesman, a mechanic, and that neither he himself nor any relative had ever been punished by the Inquisition nor had descended from Jews, Moors, Africans, Indians or Guauchos, the inhabitants of the Canaries. In this way the colleges were backed by the influence of all the great families of Spain and all the places of honor both at the bar and in the Church were held by the collegians. Regular men of ability were kept in reserve for public literary competition and in that way the evil was somewhat disguised. The Marquis of Roda had been rejected because of a flaw in his title to purity of blood and therefore nursed a deep enmity against the collegios and also against the Jesuits. He succeeded in breaking up the exclusiveness of the former, when he became a minister, by appointing

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all the fellows to high places in the Church and then filling their vacancies in the colleges with young men of no family. The older fellows disowned their successors, but the barriers of exclusiveness remained down. The same author[1] thought that the influence of the Inquisition was extremely bad and compared the conditions to those under which Galileo recanted his own discoveries. Major Dalrymple, in his Travels through Spain, comments on the dilapidated condition of the universities and lays it to the "king's despotic influence."[2] Burgoing also speaks of the backwardness of learning and attributes it to the lack of rewards or encouragement for learning, the religious restraint and the wrong principles governing the system of education.[3] The expulsion of the Jesuits had left a vacancy which was hard to fill for the endowments derived from Jesuit property did not amount to enough to supply the chairs vacated by the members of the order with well paid professors.

Charles III was the friend and protector of arts and sciences and passed various beneficial decrees in order to increase their influence. Florida Blanca granted heredetary nobility to all men of letters and university professors and exempted from military service all printers and book makers.[4]

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1. Doblado,
2. Dal., p. 73.
3. Bourg., Vol. I, Chapter XI.
4. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 394.

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1. Doblado,
2. Dal., p. 77.
3. Bourg., Vol. I, Chapter XI.
4. D. y O., Vol. VI, p. 324.

Various academies of science and letters were founded during Charles' reign. Of these the Academy des beaux arts of San Ferdinando was under Charles' special protection and he offered prizes to stimulate the interest in that branch. Besides the last named academy there was an Academy of Medicine ; economic societies throughout the kingdom and a society for jurisprudence. In Madrid there were academies of languages and history, both founded through the influence of Campomanes.

Charles III recognized[1] the importance of books in spreading enlightenment throughout the kingdom and he opened the libraries, belonging to the Jesuits before their expulsion, to the public. That of San Isidoro contained 34,000 volumes in 1785. The time had passed, when the restriction placed on the publication of books made it more difficult to have them printed than to write them, for now the authors had only to obtain permission from the Council, the presidents of the audiences or the corregidors of the kingdom. By the royal decree of April 20, 1773, the jurisdiction of the Inquisition was limited to books dealing solely with religious or sacred questions. The royal decree of December 19, 1761, charged the appraisers of books to notify the librarians of all books that were placed on sale so that all the works that were published might find their way into the libraries. Laics were allowed to establish printing presses, according to the decree

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 344.

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commerce of the nation and to that of the company. The tribunal of the Inquisition was charged with the duty of drawing up prohibitive and expurgatory indices of books, but the royal decree and decree of the Council issued on the 7th and 21st of June, 1767, respectively, forbade the publication of all books injurious to the morals and customs of the people and those which were seditious or injurious to the powers of the king or any other ruling princes. Two decrees of the Council issued on June 14 and 16, 1768, declared that the Holy Office should first hear the Catholic authors of a book before condemning it. The passages which were offensive to religion or perverted the Christian morals were to be determined and expurgated so that a book was not to be prohibited entirely because of a few harmful passages as had heretofore been the custom. All edicts of the Holy Office were subject to the approval of the king. Besides the encouragement of the publication of books, which Charles III lent to authors and publishers, he promoted the publication of periodicals and this class of literature contributed much toward the extension of learning during this reign. The same system of censureship was decreed as that exercised over the publication of books.

The influence of the economic societies was not confined to ameliorations in the industrial system of Spain, but also served to improve, to a large extent, the educational conditions. It was due to the efforts of the members of the Vasconada Society that the seminary of Vergara was established, thus giving the youth of the nobility an opportunity to receive

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their education in Spain instead of having to go abroad. The Basque Society was the model for all similar institutions and Campomanes persuaded other provinces to follow in the same footsteps. At the meetings of these societies papers and various topics, touching on the welfare of the country, were discussed and nearly all the most learned and progressive men of those times contributed in this way. Prizes were distributed annually for essays which dealt with the problems of the industrial conditions, and everybody tried to present plans which would tend toward the betterment of popular education.[1] One of the principal projects was the founding of patriotic schools for poor children, where they might be taught in all branches conforming to their station in life and especially the management of machines. The granting of a doctor's degree at the University of Alcala de Henares to Dona Maria Isidora Quintana Guzman y la Cerda, daughter of the Count of Onate, was the motive for the creation of the Sociedad de Damas for ladies. This institution had been approved by the king and was really a branch of the patriotic men's societies. Its members were mostly of the nobility and the Infantas also joined in the good work. Charles III believed in the education of women[2] and it was only through his intercession that they were allowed to participate in the intellectual progress which manifested itself in the kingdom during this reign. The

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 407.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 411.

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1. Ibid, Vol. VII, p. 607.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 411.

Junta de Damas which began with fourteen women of the nobility soon increased its numbers rapidly, for membership was eagerly sought. This new society worked zealously for the promotion of learning, the foundation of schools and other matters which could be improved by their influence or work. Women were no longer barred from the advantages of higher learning and they were given degrees and honors which had previously been reserved for men. Florida Blanca in his statement made in 1788, said that there were more than sixty patriotic societies most of which were endeavoring to aid, educate and awaken a desire for work among the poorer classes ; they encouraged the arts, agriculture and handicrafts, and they had established drafting schools, which were of great importance for the progress of the arts and sciences.[1] Besides giving academic degrees to women, Charles III allowed them to try teachers' examinations, and if successful gave them certificates for teaching. Coxe says that the institution of these societies was one of the most profitable and one of the happiest conceptions which occurred to the eminent men of Charles' reign and a Spanish author in speaking of the same subject says that the intellectual life of the Spanish nation during the reign of Charles III was regenerated, progressive and truly glorious.[2]

As Charles III was a man of intense religious and moral conviction, it was only natural that the Church should be

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1. F. B. Statement.
2. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 412.

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1. F. M. Fitzmaurice.
2. D. Y. C., Vol. VI, p. 412.

given great privileges with regard to the spiritual life of his subjects. Though both Charles and his ministers had adopted the unswerving policy of making the Church subject to all the civil laws of the kingdon there were very few decrees issued which affected the religious rights and customs of the Spanish Church. He did, however, prohibit all those customs which were contrary to a true religious sentiment, the most notable case being the suppression of the Auto sacramental, a sort of passion play, around which had grown up sacreligious abuses. This occurred[1] in 1765 and in 1760 a decree had forbidden the practice of various abuses which accompanied the processions of the Holy Week. By a decree of 1774, Charles forbade the beating of tambourines in the processions of the Sacrament of San Justo ; in 1780 dances were prohibited in religious processions ; in 1787 all noises and disturbances during the nights of San Juan and San Pedro were forbidden. When the Cortes was assembled in 1760, Charles III asked that body to defend with all their power the mystery of the Immaculate Conception and to declare the Virgin the patron of the nation. In 1771 Charles established the royal order of Charles III and exacted from its members the oath "to live and die for our sacred, catholic, apostolic religion."[2] The badge of this order had on its face an image of the Holy Virgin and the Junta of the Immaculate Conception was united with this order

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 444.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 443.

given great privileges with regard to the spiritual life of his subjects. Though both Charles and his ministers had adopted the unswerving policy of making the Church subject to all the civil laws of the kingdom there were very few decrees issued which affected the religious rights and customs of the Spanish Church. He did, however, prohibit all those customs which were contrary to a true religious sentiment, the most notable case being the suppression of the Auto sacramental, a sort of passion play, around which had grown up sacrilegious abuses. This occurred[1] in 1765 and in 1766 a decree had forbidden the practice of various abuses which accompanied the processions of the Holy Week. By a decree of 1774, Charles forbade the beating of tambourines in the processions of the Sacrament of San Justo ; in 1760 dances were prohibited in religious processions ; in 1787 all noises and disturbances during the nights of San Juan and San Pedro were forbidden. When the Cortes was assembled in 1760, Charles III asked that body to defend with all their power the mystery of the Immaculate Conception and to declare the Virgin the patron of the nation. In 1771 Charles established the royal order of Charles III and exacted from its members the oath "to live and die for our sacred, catholic, apostolic religion."[2] The badge of this order had on its face an image of the Holy Virgin and the lines of the Immaculate Conception was united with this order

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1. D. y G., Vol. VI, p. 444.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 443.

on March 21, 1779. In the "Instruccion" given to the Junta of State in 1788, Charles makes it the first duty of that body to protect the Catholic faith and the promotion of good customs and the second article requires obedience to the Holy See in all spiritual matters ;[1] for though the king was not disposed to allow the Church to infringe upon his prerogative, he was unquestionably an orthodox Christian both in private life and in his attitude as a sovereign.

Florida Blanca showed himself to be a man of very advanced and enlightened ideas in the dispensing of charities. He says that instead of encouraging professional mendicity, he established a regular system of ascertaining which of the poor were deserving and which were simply professional beggars. Regular standing committees were appointed to distribute the money granted by the king for charitable purposes or collected from generous individuals. A general junta was appointed to supervise this work and special donations were made by the king to unfortunate individuals such as officers wives and orphans, or those of magistrates, who were too modest to make known their want.[2] Schools and places of refuge were established for poor and abandoned girls and there were also opportunities given to boys to learn a trade for which they seemed particularly fitted. Loan banks were established for poor women so that they might buy material for their work. Florida Blanca

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1. Gobierno, p. 107.
2. F. B.'s Statement.

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also speaks of the evil of unorganized charity in the following words : "Sire, there are such great benefits derived by means of the hospitals and the committees that I cannot understand how sensible persons misjudge them. He who is charitable through these channels is conscious that his charity is not limited to purely personal compassion for an individual of some kind or for his situation. He then gives necessarily for the love of Christ, thus raising a moral virtue to the sphere of those which are truly Christian." Young girls were given doweries by means of a loan bank established for that purpose and poor houses were established for nearly every large town. Florida Blanca gives great credit to the clergy for these works.and says that the bishops and other prelates submitted with good grace to the deduction of one third from their revenue to be applied toward pensioning of persons cultivating the sciences and letters.

The cause of charity, like that of education, had many able supporters during this reign and one of the most ardent seems to have been the king's minister himself. His views on the right methods of applying charity are worthy of even the most advanced writers of these times and are really remarkable for their breadth and enlightenment.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE JESUITS AND THE INQUISITION.

The most frequent accusation made against the Jesuits so as to justify their expulsion from Spain was that they had taken an important part in the risings of Madrid in March, 1766. It is, therefore, quite important that an account of their expulsion should begin prior to or with that period.

In order to bring about the reforms contemplated by Charles III his ministers thought it necessary to begin by changing the manner of dress affected by the Spaniard. It usually consisted of an immense hat, which was worn in such a way as to conceal the face of its wearer ; and with this he generally wore a very long cloak which likewise served to conceal the form and the features. This mode of dress made it hard for the police to detect assassins or robbers and to remedy this evil Charles III issued a decree forbidding the wearing of large hats or long cloaks. The carrying out of this decree aroused the fury of the mob and it was directed solely against the minister of the interior, Squilacci, not only because of the reforms, but also because of his foreign birth. The tailors, who were sent through Madrid to cut the coats to a proper length increased the already violent discontent and on Palm Sunday, March 23, 1766, the mob,composed of the lower

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classes, gathered in front of the royal palace, crying : "Long live the king !" and "Death to Squilacci !" All the street lanterns which had been introduced a little earlier were destroyed and the house of the Italian minister was sacked. The king agreed to withdraw the decree, but the people also demanded the banishment of Squilacci and the abolition of monopolies in the necessaries of life. The king granted these demands and also amnesty to the people, but the flight of Charles and his family to Aranjuez, accompanied by Squilacci, caused new tumults to break out. This finally compelled the king to send his minister of the interior to Italy and Aranda was made president of Castile, while Miguel Musquiez was made minister of finances.

For all these disturbances, which can be traced to various innovations instituted by Charles III and his ministers, the religious orders were blamed and especially the Jesuits. The spirit of enlightenment, which had come from France, and had been imbibed by the ministers appointed by Charles, found i its most ardent opponents among the members of this society, who tried in every way to oppose the spreading of the doctrines of the French encyclopaedists and free thinkers. Wall, Grimaldi, Squilacci, the Duke of Alba, Roda and other influential men had tried to persuade the king to take steps against the Jesuits, as had been done by Pombal in Portugal in 1759, and by Choiseul in France in 1764 ; but Charles seemed reluctant to attack so powerful an arm of the Church as the Society

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Jesuits and it was not until after the riots in Madrid that he appointed a Junta to consider the suppression of the society. The decision reached by the Junta culminated in the expulsion of the Jesuits on April 2, 1767. The The execution of this decree was accomplished with the greatest secrecy and it was arranged so that it should be proclaimed simultaneously in all the provinces of the empire and that it should be executed with the utmost dispatch. From 4000 to 5000 Jesuits were transported to the various ports and were then shipped to the papal dominions. The hardships endured by these exiles was certainly disproportionate to their offences and cast a shadow over what was proclaimed to be an act of great enlightenment.

Although the riots in Madrid, which occurred in March 1766, have generally been considered to be the original cause of the expulsion of the Jesuits, it is quite apparent upon a more careful study of the subject that they were only incidents in the movement against the Jesuits and that the ministers of Spain and even Charles III himself really considered the above named disturbances only as fortunate pretexts to carry out their general policy of enlightenment. The death of Elizabeth Farnese, the Queen-mother, which occurred in 1766, is another incident which brought the anti-Jesuit movement nearer its goal, for it was well known that the respect and filial devotion which Charles bore his mother prevented him from taking any steps against the society which enjoyed her protection ; though Tanucci had unquestionably inspired him

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with an unfriendly spirit against the followers of Loyola.

In order to appreciate the influence exercised over the king as against the Jesuits by using the Madrid riots as arguments, it is necessary that we examine the validity of the charge implicating the Society in the rising.

The hatred of the foreigners, who predominated in the king's council, and the reforms instituted by them were unquestionably the chief sources of irritation. This is evidenced by the pamphlets and doggerel verse circulated at that time. Nothing in them suggests that the Jesuits had anything to do with the movement, but all the venom of low satire and wit seems to be directed against the despieed foreigners. The nuntio wrote to the cardinal Torregiani on April 2, 1766, saying that the hatred of the foreigners was the cause of the disturbance and expressing fear because of a belief, which was encouraged, that the clergy was connected with the troubles and that some particular religious order might be blamed for them.[1] In a letter written by Aranda to Roda on April 9, 1766, the writer says that after a secret investigation he had come to the conclusion that the moving spirit of the riot was the presence of Squilacci. It was Tanucci who implicated the Jesuits, though at first he thought that the rising was fomented by the lowest class of friars and that the order against long cloaks and slouch hats was the primary

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1. D. y C., Vol. III, p.10.

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cause. In a letter to Losada he says that the riots resulted from suggestions made by some friars and that he did not hope for tranquility of the people until the various orders had been driven out of the country.[1] He also advised the most stringent measures against the inhabitants of Madrid and on June 10, 1766, he wrote to Losada that he was persuaded that the clergy were the secret authors of sedition. Shortly afterward in a letter to Azara, the Tuscan free-thinker, he said : "The Jesuits are everywhere the same. They are seditious, enemies of all rulers and of nations, and public thieves. I do not know why they wait in destroying the college of Loyola."[2] In the same year he wrote to Losada as follows : "The freeing of the country from the Jesuits should be considered carefully, but when this is once resolved, it should be carried out with precision and at a single instant throughout the kingdom."[3] On December 9, Tanucci wrote to Losada,: "My desire is that the Jesuits should leave Madrid before the king enters, that is, as soon as they are expelled from Spain."[4] The above extracts show the uncompromising attitude of Tanucci and upon considering the immense influence exercised by him over Charles it can hardly be denied that the primary motive for the expulsion of the Jesuits sprang from the mind of the political tutor of the king and that the riots of March 23,

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1. D. y C., Vol. III, p. 13.
2. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 14.
3. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 15.
4. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 16.

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3. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 16.
4. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 16.

1766, were only opportune events which offered the reforming ministers of Charles the chance they had been looking for to bring about the downfall of the hated society.[1] Danvila says : "The correspondence of Tanucci with the ministers of the king of Spain in 1766 was the mirror from whence was reflected everything that was said or done in Madrid against the Jesuits and there can be no doubt that the expulsion and the manner in which it was carried out sprang from the mind of the free-thinker, who, during the period of a quarter of a century, had given Charles III his political education."

By a decree issued April 22, 1766, Aranda was commanded to make secret inquiry as to leaders of the riots and as to the publishers of the satires and pasquinades against the members of the Council. He was also to find means by which he could prevent future risings and was to punish the leaders. But the satires and pamphlets continued to be circulated and Ensenada, who had been known as a friend of the Jesuits, the bishop of Cuenca and others were arrested. According to Lafuente there was no ground for believing that Ensenada had in any way been connected with the revolt, though it was said that 'vivats' were uttered for him on one or two occasions during the rioting. His only fault had been his friendship for the Society of Loyola, but Tanucci said that he had always been in old intrigues and among other things had tried

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1. D. y C., Vol. III, p. 15.

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1. D. y.C., Vol. III, p. 23.

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The appearance of the Jesuit brothers carried a note of "lions like the Jesuits," etc., to be uttered and then apparently helped to advertise their presence. The national decree issued April March, 1768, when the temper of the King and his ministers to its, it possible, the responsibility upon the clergy. All the pamphlets and pasquinades issued were believed to have been

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1. D. R.C., Vol. III, p. 30.

printed by the clergy and in April 1766 all such publications were prohibited under pain of the severest penalties. Priests or any members of the clergy without any occupation were told to leave the Court and return to their churches or dioceses. In September of the same year a decree was issued prohibiting clergy from speaking against any royal personages or members of the king's councils.[1] All investigations were made with a view to implicating the clergy and especially the Jesuits.

A council, called Consejo extraordinario, was appointed with the duties of investigating the riots of Madrid and preparing for the expulsion of the Jesuits.[2] Its methods of procedure were inquisitorial ; both its members and the witnesses swore absolute secrecy in all matters and did not even allow the accused to have a hearing. Aranda was made president of this council which had thirteen members and was divided into two chambers, that of Justice and that of Conscience. In order to occupy this judicial body various accusations were circulated against the Jesuits. It was said that satires and pasquinades were printed by the Society's press and others declared that they had seen the Jesuits urging on the mob and had seen P.Isidro Lopez calling for Ensenada to replace Squillacci.[3] It was also declared that Jesuits had encouraged riots with offers of money and that they had held meetings for planning the assassination of the king. These absurd lies and the most convincing proof of the consciousness

1. D. y C., Vol. III, p. 25.
2. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 36.
3. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 37.

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1. A. y d., Vol. III, p. 53.
2. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 56.
3. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 27

felt by the government of the weakness of its case.

On January 29, 1767, the Extraordinary Council sent a proposal of expulsion of the Jesuits to the king, this document being divided into two parts. The first deals with the legal consideration and justice of such a step and the second suggested the manner and conditions of expulsion. Among other terms it was provided that regulars of the Company should receive one hundred dollars and lay-brothers ninety dollars annually ; while the novices were allowed to choose between remaining in Spain or going with their superiors. On February 27, Charles gave warrant to Aranda to carry outt the recommendation of the Council, leaving date and other details to his discretion. The only co-operators chosen by Aranda were Monino, Campomanes and Roda.[1] The date fixed by these for the carrying out of the decree was April 2 and the plans were so secretly and carefully laid that no one excepting the four ministers, Tanucci, and, of course, the king knew of the impending blow to be struck at the papacy.

On March 30th Charles sent a short letter to the Pope declaring his intention to expel the Jesuits from his dominions. He also sent one to Tanucci at the same time, but the effect of the two letters was not the same on the two recipients. The Pope sent Charles a letter of earnest and sorrowful appeal asking him to reconsider the step which he had taken.[2]

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1. D. y C.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 57.

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On January 20, 1767, the Extraordinary Council sent a proposal of expulsion of the Jesuits to the King, this document being divided into two parts. The first deals with the legal consideration and justice of such a step and the second suggested the manner and conditions of expulsion. Among other terms it was provided that students of the Company should receive one hundred reales and lay-brothers ninety; while the novices were allowed to choose between remaining as clerks or going with their superiors. On February 27, Orejas gave warrant to Arrieta to carry out the recommendation of the Council, leaving data and other details to his discretion. The only co-operators chosen by Arrieta were Molino, Germanus and Ruda.[1] The date fixed for their for the carrying out of the decree was April 2 and the plans were so secretly and admirably laid that in one evening the four ministers, Tanucci, and, of course, the King knew of the impending blow to be struck at the Jesuits.

On March 30th, Tanucci sent a secret letter to the Papal Nuncio, in Madrid, to expel the Jesuits from his dominions. He also sent one to Tavucci at the same time, but the effect of the two letters was the same on the two realms. The Pope sent Cherubini, letter of warmth and authorful moved entire but to frustrate the step which had been taken.[2]

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1. D. y D.
2. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 87.

Charles' answer was respectful and dignified but he remained firm in his decision, declaring that the expulsion was a providential act and that no monasteries or orders would be permitted to exist in this kingdom which did not remodel their constitutions. He also said that no religious order was necessary for the welfare of the Church, and that he had acted solely for the benefit of his dominions. When Tanucci heard of the decree, he wrote to Campomanes that the prosperity of Spain was assured and that she would soon rival England and France. He calls Aranda the Hercules who had performed a super-human task.[1] It is necessary to read the letters of Tanucci to comprehend the great satisfaction he felt when he received the letters from the king and his ministers. On April 8, he wrote to Bollari that he had congratulated his friend D. Manuel upon the expulsion of the Jesuits toward which end he had been working so hard.[2] On April 21, Tanucci wrote a letter to Charles, asking him to suggest the expulsion of the Jesuits to the young king of Naples. He declared that Jesuits were hated in all Catholic countries of the world.

The Extraordinary Councils issued a report on April 30, declaring that the part taken by the Jesuits in Madrid was not the only charge against them. It was their spirit of fanaticism and sedition, their false doctrines and their intolerable pride which had characterized the body. This pride

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1. D. y C., Vol. III, p. 45.
2. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 48.

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1. C. G., Vol. III, p. 18.
2. Idem, Vol. III, p. 46.

harmed the nation and also its prosperity ; but contributed to the aggrandizement of the pretensions of Rome toward universal dominion, which can be seen in the partiality of Cardinal Torregiani to sustain the power of the Company as against the king's.[1]

In refusing to allow the expelled Jesuits to land in the Papal States, the Pope thought that he would compel Charles to take them back ; but the Spanish king had made up his mind to bring about the extinction of the order and after having rid Spain of the curse, as he called it, he turned his attention to the Sicilies. On June 9, 1767, he wrote to Tanucci that he felt uneasy because of the presence of the Jesuits in Naples and he asked the minister to aid his son in accomplishing their expulsion. In the same letter he said : "I know that they (the Jesuits) are capable of anything and no one knows better than I do, having had experience. I grow more contented each day for having expelled them and see more and more how necessary it was."[2]

The causes for the expulsion assigned by Charles III or rather by his ministers were couched in generalities and the king himself declared he would keep the charges as one of the secrets of his heart. Carayon says that the only accusations against the Jesuits can be summed up in these words: The Spanish Jesuits have been accused of a multitude of wicked

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1. D. y C., Vol. III, p. 58.
2. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 67.

because the realm enabling its prosperity ; not contributing to the aggrandisement of the protectors of Iona "commercial dominion, which can be seen in the partiality of medical Torrington to sustain the power of the Company as against the King".[1]

In refusing to allow the appellee Daniel's to land in the Tagal Islands, Torrington thought that he would compel Charles to take their back ; but the Spanish King had made up his mind to bring about the extinction of the order and after having rid Spain of the curse, as he called it, he turned his attention to the Philippines. On June 5, 1787, he wrote to Tanucci that he felt uneasy because of the presence of the Jesuits in Tagalos and he asked "the Minister" to aid his son in accomplishing their expulsion. In the same letter he said : "I know that they (the Jesuits) are capable of anything and no one knows better than I do, having had experience. I grow more concerned each day for having expelled them and saw them and more has happened it was."[2]

The causes for the expulsion appeared by charges filed on oath by his ministers were combined in Government in the very strongest desires to hold Keep the Jesuits in the of the Jesuits of Philippines. Torrington says that the only justification against the Jesuits can be summed up in these words: The Spanish Jesuits have been accused of a multitude of alleged

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1. D. C. P., Vol. IV, p. 22.
2. Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 27.

acts and crimes."[1] The provision made against any statements made by the Jesuits on the subject of their expulsion was an indication of fear of scrutiny which was felt by the Spanish king. The charge that the Jesuits had questioned the legitimacy of Charles' birth seems to have been invented solely to further the interests of the anti-Jesuitical party and was so absurd that it hardly could have influenced the king in any way. A Spanish author says : "Elizabeth of Farnese has been accused by history of having driven Spain into various ruinous enterprises to advance the interests of her sons ; but no one has ever been so bold as to say that she stained her royal couch with the stigma of adultery ; and perhaps one of the reasons which aided in the firm establishment of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain was the honorable dignity of the royal consorts of Philip V, Ferdinand VI and Charles III."[2]

Swayed by the principles of advanced thought which caused Charles to decree the expulsion he intrigued, plotted and planned until he had achieved the total extinction of the Society.

In concluding it might be well to repeat that the expulsion of the Jesuits was not due to their alleged activity in the riots of Madrid, or to their absurd slander against the king's birth or any other trumped-up charge of the encyclo-

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1. Carayon, p. 40.
2. D. y C., Vol. III, p. 82.

acts and crimes."[1] The revolution made against any criminal, made by the Jacobins on the subject of their execution was an indication of their of correcting which was fell by the Jacobin King. The charge that the Jacobins had published the legitimacy of Charles' birth seems to have been invented solely to further the interests of the anti-Jacobinical party and was so absurd that it hardly could have influenced the minds in any way. A Spanish writer says : "Hundreds of persons has been accused by history of having driven Louis into various failures attempting to advance the interests of her home ; but no one has ever been so bold as to say that she obtained her point touch with the minds of military ; and perhaps one of the reasons which aided in the first establishment of the Jacobins party in Paris was the importance dignity of the royal consorts of Louis V, Dagobert VI and Charles III."[2]

Based on the principles of advanced thinkers which cannot fail to disturb the equilibrium be tarnished, altered and planned until we had achieved the total revolution of the society.

In concluding it might be well to repeat that the association of the Jacobins was not due to their alleged activity in the cause of Jacobin, or to their abovementioned hatred the King's birth or any other trumped-up charge of the anglois-

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1. Carlyle, p. 40.
2. D. J. S., Vol. III, p. 32.

paedists ; but rather to the necessity of the abolition of an institution which was against all the principles on which the system of enlightened absolutism was based.

Although Charles III was an intensely religious and pious man, it was entirely in conformity with his political principles to limit the power of the clergy, the Church and the Papacy, as much as possible. By means of the Jesuits, the Inquisition, its nuntios and the numerous papal bulls published prior to this reign many of the privileges and rights of the crown had, to a large extent, been absorbed by the Church, especially those pertaining to the judicial department. It was against these evils that the enlightened ministers of Charles III fought most zealously and they succeeded in curbing the power of Rome in such a way as to leave the supremacy of the crown unquestioned.

The Inquisition had lost many of its early characteristics and its omnipotence had been checked during the reign of Ferdinand VI, when the king interfered in the trial of Feijoo. When in 1760 the Holy See forbade the publication of the work of Doctor Mesenghi, the tribunal of the Inquisition wanted to publish the brief condemning it ; but D. Ricardo Wall ordered its publication to be suspended.[1] A pragmatic of January 18, 1762, commanded that no papal bull, brief or letter should be published before being submitted to the king

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 83.

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Although Charles III was an intensely religious and chaste man, it was entirely in conformity with his political principles to limit the power of the clergy, the Church and the Papacy, as much as possible. In spite of that fanatic, the Inquisition, the question was the burdens royal built, published prior to this reign many of the privileges and rights of the clerical bodies, to a large extent, been absorbed by the Crown, especially those pertaining to the judicial department. It was against these evils that the enlightened statesmen of Charles III fought most actively and they succeeded in curbing the power of Rome in such a way as to lessen the authority of the crown considerably.

The Inquisition has lost many of its legal characteristics and its comfortness had been checked during the reign of Ferdinand VI, when the Pope intervened in the trial of Tanucci. Then in 1750 the Holy See forbade the publication of the work of Doctor Mendoni, the Fiscal of the Inquisition wanted to publish the letter concerning it, but D. Ricardo Wall ordered its publication to be suspended.[1] A proposal to abolish it, 1768, concerning that no papal bull, letter or letter should be published before be by submitted to the King

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1. P. y R., Vol. VI, p. 62.

for examination. It was also decreed that all briefs or letters sent to individuals from Rome should first be passed upon by the Council, so as to determine whether or not the terms of the Concordat were in any way infringed upon, whether the rights of the crown were prejudiced or whether the good customs or the quiet of the country was in any way endangered.[1] All condemnations of books were made subject to royal revision. The indictments, made by the Inguisition against Aranda, Florida Blanca, Campomanes, Roda and the bishops who had been members of the Council which considered the expulsion of the Jesuits, declaring them to be the supporters of the modern philosophy and enemies of the Church, were suspended by the crown.[2] The trial of Olavide, the superintendent of the Sierra Morena colonies, was the last notable attempt on the part of the Inquisition to assert its terrible prerogative of earlier times, and in that case Charles allowed the victim to escape to France after a comparatively light sentence had been imposed. In 1770 a decree was issued confining the jurisdiction of the Inquisition to cases of apostasy and heresy, without the right of placing the king's subjects in prison before having heard them. A royal decree of June 16, 1768, forbade the condemnation of a book without previously having heard its author. Danvila concludes by saying : "All these acts go to show that Charles III preferred to limit the jurisdiction of

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 84.
2. Ibid.

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1. D. y C., Tom. VI, p. 84.
2. Ibid.

the Holy Office, to softer its harshness and rigors, and to convert its ancient omnipotence into laudible flexibility, rather than decree the suppression of the tribunal, which, as the historian Lafuente recognized, would have clashed with many of the interests, occupations and traditional customs of a large part of the clergy and a large part of thehpeople."[1]

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 86.

the Holy Office, to soften its harshness and rigors, and to convert its ancient omnipotence into lawfully flexibility, rather than course the suppression of the tribunal, which, as the historian Lecky recognized, would have clashed with many of the interests, occupations and traditional customs of a large part of the clergy and a large part of the people."[1]

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1. D. & C., Vol. VI, p. 84.

CHAPTER IX.

PERSONAL CHARACTER OF CHARLES III.

The predominant characteristics of Charles III were his good nature, his honesty, virtue and his tenacity or stubbornness, as his critics called it. His paternal rule while king of Naples had so endeared him to his Italian subjects that they considered it to be a national calamity when he left. His Spanish subjects became equally attached to their king and he made it his constant aim to procure their prosperity and to increase the glory of the nation. It is true that he made mistakes, especially in foreign politics, during his long reign ; but they were not due to any selfish desire for glory, but rather to reconquer territory which he thought rightfully belonged to his crown and were a menace to the peace of his kingdom while in the hands of foreigners.

When Charles came to the Spanish throne, he was nearly forty-four years old and, according to his ambassador in Paris, he was a little more that five feet two inches in height, well built, very robust, tanned by the weather and had a large aquiline nose.[1] His large nose was said to have made a rather bad impression at first, but that was succeeded by a feeling

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 5.

CHAPTER IX.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CHARLES III.

The predominant characteristics of Charles III were his good nature, his humanity, vigorous his temperamental or stubborness, as his critics called it. His personal rule with this of Tacitus had so endeared him to his Italian subjects that they considered it to be a national calamity when he left. His Spanish subjects became equally attached to their king and he made it his constant aim to promote their prosperity and to increase the glory of the nation. It is true that he made mistakes, particularly in foreign politics, during his long reign ; but they were not due to any selfish desire for glory, but rather to recovery territory which he thought rightfully belonged to his crown and more a menace to the peace of his kingdom while in the hands of foreigners.

When Charles came to the Spanish throne, he was merely forty-four years old and, according to his ambassador in Turin, he was a little man that like that the Indian in bulk, well built, very robust, turned to the weather and had a large equiline nose.[1] His large nose was said to have made a rather bad impression at first, but that was succeeded by a feeling

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1. C. R. C., Vol. 75, p. 6.

which was quite the reverse upon further acquaintance. He was exceedingly cleanly and dressed so modestly that it was hard to tell who, in a royal assembly, was the king. Charles was a man of scrupulously regular habits and was so attached to his mode of life that anything that interfered with it would upset him. His love and affection for his family was constant and one of his finest traits. His matrimonial life was exemplary and exceedingly happy. His virtue was famous and was the subject of considerable comment on the part of contemporary writers, for continence among kings was rare. Charles had thirteen children by his wife Maria Amalia of Saxony and his interest and love for these was second to that he bore his subjects. The king's refusal to marry again was said to have been due to his love for his first wife and his fear of creating difficulties in his succession.[1]

Charles' experience in Naples had made him unusually fit for the tasks of a ruler and his choice of ministers is the best proof of his administrative ability. His hatred of changes of any kind made him reluctant to discharge a minister once in office and this was unquestionably a great source of good, for it gave the enlightened official an opportunity to work out his reforms. The regard which Charles III felt for justice in most matters is shown by his reluctance to ask for favors for his personal friends and Muriel gives an instance where he

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1. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 11.

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1. C. S. P., Vol. 98, p. 12.

expresses great joy when a minister announces the appointment of one of his proteges to a position which the king had not cared to ask for, fearing lest he should influence his ministers in their choice.[1] The paternal rule which Charles exercised over his subjects is best illustrated by the degrees he issued and by his attitude at the time of the Madrid riots. He said at that time that his subjects were like children who cried while being washed. The purity of his own life caused him to pass many laws regulating family relations and especially those between parents and children. In order to get a good idea of his character it is best to consider the opinions of the different historians of this reign and especially of the foreigners among these. Danvila says : "It would be difficult to find among the kings of that epoch, one who lived and reigned with more frugality and modesty and who lived more apart from the temptations of the world and the danger which courtly vanities and flatteries offer."[2] A French author declares that Charles III was "simple in his manners, exemplary in the regularity of his private life and also as a prince, scrupulously honest in his relations as a monarch, but until his death he paid a tribute, both by his acts and by his words, to superstition."[3] At another point this same author says : "Under Charles, Euterpe and Terpsichore had lost their scep-

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1. Muriel, Vol. VI, p. 3.
2. D. y C., Vol. VI, p. 10.
3. Bourg., Vol. II, p. 14.

approaches great joy when a kindhearted monarch the appointment of one of his predecessors to a position which the king had reserved to ask for, feeling lest he should influence his sisters in that choice.[1] The paternal role which Charles assumed over his subjects is best illustrated by the concern he showed and by his attitude at the time of the Tardie affair. He said at that time that his subjects were like children who acted while being wanted. The quality of his own life caused him to pass such laws regulating family relations and especially those between parents and children. In order to get a good idea of his character it is best to consider the opinions of the different biographers of this reign and especially of the foreigners among them. Martin says : "It would be difficult to find among the kings of that epoch, one who lived and reigned with more firmness and modesty, who lived more apart from the temptations of the world and the danger which courtly vanities and flatteries offer."[2] A French author declares that Charles III was "simple in his manners, exemplary in the regularity of his private life and also as a prince, scrupulously honest in his relations as a monarch, not until his death he paid a tribute, both by his acts and by his words, to humanitarianism."[3] As another point this same author says : "Under Charles, Spanish and Portuguese had lost their [illegible]

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1. Daniel, Vol. VI, p. 3.
2. Op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 20.
3. Coxe, Vol. IV, p. 14.

tre, Being more simple and more uniform in his tastes and indifferent to profane pleasures, he had banished then from his surroundings and contented himself with the encouragement of the silent arts as well as the sciences. A stranger to love, and although good, he was almost insensible to friendship during the thirty years of his reign, with the possible exceptions of that with the Marquis of Squilacci, which came very near proving costly, and that with the Italian valet de chambre, Pusi, who was only influential to a limited degree. He did not have a single favorite, and protected by his devotion against the seduction of court life, he spent twenty-nine years of his life without a wife or a mistress, a unique instance, perhaps, in the history of kings. Libertinism had to disguise itself in order to approach the throne unpunished, and there was never a less gallant court than that of Charles III."[1] Coxe thought that Charles had "great capacity, a prodigious memory and was a graceful conversationalist, speaking Spanish, Italian, and French with great fluency." He also says that he was unruffled under the most trying circumstances and never unduly elated over success. He was devoted to religion but never subservient to his confessor or to Rome. The English traveller, Townsend, describes Charles III as follows : "The reigning monarch, Charles III, has never been considered as a man of more than common abilities, but all who know him admire

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1. Bourg., Vol. I, p. 262.

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1. Coxe, Vol. I, p. 352.

the goodness of his heart ; and indeed it is impossible to look at him without reading distinctly the characters of benevolence and truth. As a man of principle, he esteems it his first duty to promote the happiness of the nation over which he reigns and if at any time his conduct has been inconsistent with his principles ; if he has contracted unnatural alliances, without either the plea of necessity or prospect of advantage ; if, in defence of a relation he has hastily engaged in war, it has always been from the goodness of his heart and from the influence of gratitude that he has erred. In choosing his ministers he consults only the good of his people, and it must be confessed that commonly he is well directed in his choice."[1]

In spite of the good characteristics of Charles III as a man and his enlightened views as a ruler, he had a few faults which seemed, to say the least, inconsistent with his general attitude in regard to his subjects or to his private life. His superstition was perhaps the most striking of these defects, especially when we consider the fact that he attacked the Church because of abuses arising mainly from the superstitions encouraged mainly by the lower orders of the clergy. Bourgoing speaks of one good instance of this weakness on the part of the king. In founding the order of Saint Januarius, he took as a device "in sanguine foedus", firmly believing in the liquefaction of the blood of the saint. While at Naples

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1. Townsend, Vol. II, p. 264.

the goodness of his heart ; and indeed it is impossible to look at him without reading distinctly the characters of benevolence and truth. As a man of principle, he believes it his first duty to promote the happiness of the nation over which he reigns and if at any time his conduct has been inconsistent with his principles ; if he has contracted unnatural alliances, without either the plea of necessity or advantage ; if, in defence of a religion he has humbly embraced in age, it has always been from the goodness of his heart and from the influence of principles that he has read. In choosing his ministers he wants not the good of his people, and it must be confessed that commonly he is well nigh in his choice."[1]

In spite of the good characteristics of Charles III as a man and his enlightened views as a ruler, he had a few faults which caused, to say the least, inconsistent with his general activity in regard to his subjects or to his private life. His superstition was perhaps the most striking of these defects, especially when we consider the fact that he attacked the Church because of abuses arising mainly from the superstitions encouraged mainly by the lower classes of the clergy. Surprising enough of our good instincts of his behavior on the part of the king. In forming the order of Saint Jacquins, he took as a device "In omnibus Domum", thereby believing in the liquefaction of the blood of the saint. With at Naples

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1. Sempere, Vol. II, p. 364.

Bourgoing heard that when at one time this blood had coagulated Charles showed great concern and immediately began to look for the cause of this change. It was found upon examination of the saint's tomb that a crack had opened in the partition which separated the body of the saint from the vial containing the blood. Since tradition had it that in order to obtain the liquefaction there should be no communication between the body and the blood of the saint, the people and the king firmly believed that this had been the cause of the coagulation and that after the tomb had been repaired the blood recovered its miraculous properties.[1] This is only one instance of Charles' primitive belief, but is typical of his weakness. The king was also in the habit of carrying with him the toys of his childhood and his valet de chambre would always change them from the pockets of one suit to those of another whenever Charles changed his dress. His affection for a certain tree caused him to deflect the superb road leading into Madrid, so that the tree would not be disturbed. The passion which Charles entertained for hunting was probably the greatest source of evil due to the king personally. The cost of following his favorite pastime was enormous and besides that it had a bad influence upon the population around his estates since it gave them many opportunities to lay down their regular work in order to drive game for the royal huntsmen. The

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1. Muriel, Vol. VI, p.21

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Charles moved very swiftly and immediately began to look
for the cause of his change. It was found upon examination
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which separated the body of the saint from the vial containing
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work in order to enjoy gain for the royal business. The

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1. Martel, Vol. II, p.[illegible]

Bourbon king's fondness for the chase caused him to commit real acts of injustice in the punishment of violations of the game-laws. In one case a peasant from the neighborhood of Madrid went into the royal preserves and took six or seven acorns, said to have been intended for food for his family. A guard who caught the poor man arrested him and the case was brought before the king. "Under an absolute ruler, excessively fond of the chase, the laws could not be too severe on this point."[1] It was decided that the culprit should pay for his act by being confined in the dungeons of Centa for as many years as he had taken acorns and when the king was implored to commute this sentence he declared that "it was a terrible thing to deprive the poor little animals of their food." When after six years the unfortunate offender was allowed to have his freedom he ambushed and killed the guard who first arrested him, for which murder he was condemned to death and executed at Madrid. Such is the effect of an evil rule of despotism and it is quite clear that all the good derived from an enlightened but despotic government cannot compensate for this single act of injustice, so entirely against the laws of humanity and individual liberty. This constant desire on the part of the king to spend his time in pursuit of game was justified by some writers because it was said to have been necessary to divert the minds of Bourbons who had always shown a tendency toward

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L.. Muriel, Vol. VI, p. 7.

Gourdon King's homage, for the chief caused him to commit deed of injustice in the punishment of violations of the laws. In her arms a peasant from the neighborhood of Marie went into the royal preserves and took six or seven morsels, said to have been intended for food for his family. A guard who caught the poacher preferred life and the peasant was drowned before the king. "Under an absolute ruler, necessarily food of the chase, the laws could not be too severe on this point." It was decided that the culprit should pay for his act by being overtaken in the dungeons of Ouvra for as many years as he had stood morsels and when the king had inquired to convey his sentence he replied that "it was a terrible thing to deprive the poor little animals of their food." When after six years the authorities offender was allowed to have his freedom he commited and killed the guard who first apprehended him, for which murder he was condemned to death and executed at Marie. Such is the effect of an evil rule of autocracy and it is quite clear that all the good derived from an enlightened but despotic government cannot compensate for this single act of injustice, so entirely against the laws of humanity and individual liberty. This unfortunate desire on the part of the king to guard his aims in pursuit of game has justified by some writers because it was said to have been necessary to divert the minds of Gourdon who had always shown a tendency towards

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1.. Tuesdi, Vol. VI, p. 9.

melancholia and other forms of insanity. Coxe says of Charles' character : "His defects were few, but strongly marked, and among them we cannot pass over his love for the chase, or rather shooting, which degenerated into a ruling passion."[1] Townsend estimated that the cost of one day's shooting which he attended amounted to three thousand pounds sterling.[2] Florida Blanca, in his Statement, calls the king's attention to the evils of allowing a great number of people to leave their work in order to drive game for the royal party and gives his reason for his opposition.

The faults of Charles III, though they may seem great in a man who has always had a reputation for enlightenment, were not considered as such by his people, who thought that he was only exercising his prerogative. In spite of the occasional acts of injustice due to personal prejudice there was no Spanish ruler, since the days of Isabelle, who had won more completely the affection of his subjects than had Charles III. He died on December 14, 1788, his death having been hastened by that of his favorite son, Don Gabriel. The grief of the Spanish nation was profound and sincere for they realized that the one who had checked her downward course, who had turned darkness into light and brought order out of chaos had left a splendid edifice unfinished, though apparently firmly

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1. Coxe, 1st ed., Vol. III, p. 534.
2. Townsend, Vol. II, p. 75.

melancholia and other forms of madness.[1] Dona Ana's of Charles' chief color: "His actions were few, but strongly marked, and under them we cannot fail to see his love for the chase, or rather sportsmanship, which degenerated into a mania passion."[2] Townsend believed that she had a man's sporting which is attended sometimes by some thoughtless sporting.[3] Florida Blanco, in his testament, calls "Mr King's affection to the evils of allowing a great number of people to have their work is about to drive game for the royal party and give his reason for his disposition.

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1. Coxe, loc cit., Vol. III, p. 254.
2. Townsend, Vol. II, p. 78.

founded. Subsequent events served to undo much of the good wrought by Charles III ; but his memory continues to be revered as the great regenerator of the Spanish nation.